PAKISTANI LINGUISTICS (1962)

SELECTED PAPERS PRESENTED
AT THE
FIRST PAKISTAN CONFERENCE OF LINGUISTS

EDITED BY
ANWAR S. DIL

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LINGUISTIC RESEARCH GROUP OF PAKISTAN
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To

the memory of
Muhammad Ali of Bogra
and
Maulvi Muhammad Shafi

CONTENTS

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Pakistan Writers' Co-operative Society, West Pakistan Urdu Academy, All-Pakistan Music Conference, and Pakistan Arts Council, must be thanked for being hosts to our conference at well-arranged functions.

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Prof. Afia Dil and Miss Nasim Dil were mainly responsible for the successful management of the Conference for which we offer them sincerest thanks.

Preface

PAKISTANI LINGUISTICS (1962) invites the attention of all concerned to the existence of a group of linguists and language scholars, however modest and little known in the field of linguistics as such, who are working towards building up a new tradition of Pakistani Linguistics. Though, in a sense, they are the inheritors of that great tradition of linguistic studies and research which started with the inimitable Panini several hundred years ago in the Indus Valley, and in recent years has been enriched by such eminent scholars as Sir George Grierson, Dr. Gottlich Leitner, Dr. Alfred Woolner, Grahame Bailey, J. R. Firth, Muhammad Hussain Azad, Hafiz Mahmud Shairani, Dattatarya Kaifl, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Dr. Maulvi Abdul Haq, Dr. Maulvi Muhammad Shafi and Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah.

We should like the reader of this preface to read the whole book and find out the strong as well as weak points of this tradition-in-the-making as it was in the year 1962. *A Directory of Pakistani Linguists and Language Scholars* published in 1962, and this book are the first attempts made in Pakistan to provide an academic forum in which the scholars in the field can co-ordinate and evaluate their research in progress. We hope that the Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan will succeed in popularising the new trends in Modern Linguistics among Pakistani scholars and co-ordinate the work of all national and foreign scholars working on Pakistani languages so that more scientific studies are undertaken in the fields of Descriptive, Comparative, Historical and Applied Linguistics. It is further hoped that Modern Linguistics will find a place among the academic disciplines of our national universities.

The urgent need for scientific research on Pakistani languages can hardly be over-emphasised not only for making the teaching and learning of these languages more effective ; for providing a more sound foundation for higher literacy, better education and greater unity among various language communities in Pakistan ; but also for the preparation of materials that could be used by people in other countries who desire to learn our languages. The time has come for us to accept our responsibilities in this area.

It is a truism that Linguistics holds the key to better human understanding. The present-day world conditions necessitate that the process of learning languages, both of the world powers and the developing nations, must be made a matter of weeks. We know that linguists in several countries of the world, especially in the U. S. A., the U.S.S.R., Britain, France, Germany, the Scandanavian countries and Japan, are working towards this end. We extend our fullest support to our colleagues all over the world. We believe that the "walls" and "curtains" between man and man or nation and nation must be removed because modern man has paid a heavy price to learn that "Good fences make good neighbours" is a dangerous belief. Robert Frost was right when he said : "Something there is that doesn't love a wall." We recognise this natural desire on the part of a normal human being to communicate with his neighbour and are working towards creating maximum facilities for such communication resulting in better inter-personal and inter-national understanding and goodwill.

In presenting this volume to our distinguished colleagues in countries where linguistic science has made such praise-worthy progress, we are aware of our technical shortcomings. Let us hope, however, that this volume will at least show that our first step is in the right direction.

ANWAR S. DIL

Lahore
March 17, 1963.

Foreword

DR. MAULVI MUHAMMAD SHAFI
Chairman, Editorial Board,
Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam,
University of the Panjab,
Lahore.

We owe it to the Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan that they have focused attention on the language problems of Pakistan—problems which are important in themselves and are important also because on a fair solution of them hinges the unity and solidarity of the country and the future development of the Pakistan nationality.

We have to face the problem in education as to which languages we should teach our young learners. There is the mother-tongue and there are the national languages. Each has a claim and these claims have to be adjusted. Then there is Arabic, the language of religion, and Persian, the language of our culture, poetry, mysticism, history etc. English has a claim, as an international language and as the language of higher studies. Then there are other foreign languages, like French, German etc. which in this atomic age, at least the researcher in Science cannot do without. The problem for education is, how many and which of these to teach and when, and how to adjust this language teaching with other essential studies for completing one's education.

That, under the circumstances, an educated Pakistani has to be multi-lingual, cannot be doubted, but the extent of his multi-linguality will vary, due to circumstances and opportunities. This being so, it becomes necessary, that through research, methods should be

devised for separating the essential from the non-essential in language teaching, to effect economy of effort and time in imparting exact knowledge. If the linguist does his job well, it becomes possible to get the phenomena of a language put before the student in such a clear manner as to make its acquirement a fairly simple affair. Sir Denison Ross once told me that it took him about a fortnight to learn a new language. He would take the best, scientifically prepared description of the language, then devote himself entirely and exclusively to it for a fortnight and master the essentials of its grammar and vocabulary. Then remained only the question of enlarging one's vocabulary of the language, which could be solved later. Even if one is not so gifted a linguist as Sir Denison, the correct methods of teaching and learning are extremely helpful in acquiring languages. In this matter the Linguistic Research Group can render invaluable service to the country, by examining the phenomena of the languages of Pakistan, national and regional and bringing out their affinities in basic sounds, grammar, vocabulary etc., thus bringing them near each other and facilitating the acquirement of a thorough knowledge of them.

The Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan with these and similar objectives in view held a Conference of which some selected papers are now being published. That due attention should be given to the subject of Linguistics in the Universities of Pakistan cannot be over-emphasised and this Research Group cannot rest unless this objective is gained. A reference has already been made to the multi-lingualism of Pakistan which makes it necessary that the problems should be dealt with scientifically and it is only in a University that proper scope for such studies can be found.

The Conference achieved its objective in several respects. It drew together a select group of people interested in Linguistic Studies. Further, several papers read and discussed at the Conference

contain sound linguistic studies, were of varied interest and the standard achieved was fairly high. The Linguistic Research Group, particularly its enthusiastic and capable Founder-Secretary Prof. Anwar S. Dil, is to be congratulated on securing sound technical articles, written from modern linguistic point of view, such among others as, "A Study of Urdu Noun Phrase Types", "Teaching Bengali to Urdu Speakers", and "Some Syntactic Structures in Bengali". They have been properly edited and are now being presented to a wider public. This is undoubtedly a step on the right direction, and would help in popularising the studies and help the Group in achieving its objectives, in due course.

March 2, 1963.

Address

PROF. ANWAR S. DIL
Convener,
First Pakistan Conference of Linguists.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

I feel greatly honoured in welcoming you to the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists and Language Scholars. The Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan under whose auspices this Conference is being held, is most grateful to you for responding so encouragingly to our invitation.

Sir, I must thank you, in particular, for enhancing the stature of this Conference by your kindness in accepting to preside over this session and deliver the inaugural address.

We are extremely grateful to our distinguished delegates who have come from different parts of the two wings of Pakistan to read papers and participate in the deliberations of this first national gathering of experts in Pakistani Linguistics.

Sir, Language is such a common phenomenon that we tend to take it for granted. However, people in all ages have been interested, in some form or another, in questions like : What is Language? What are the similar and dissimilar features between various languages and dialects? What is the origin and history of the development of a particular language? How is learning a second language different from learning your first language? How can you improve the teaching and learning of languages? What are the scientific methods of making linguistic surveys and analysing

languages? What is the role of language in national and international understanding and the practical application of linguistic knowledge for greater human welfare and progress? These and a hundred other questions have resulted in the accumulation of a great body of knowledge which we, broadly speaking, call Linguistics. Since the beginning of this century the study of languages has assumed fundamental significance because of unprecedented development in international communication. Consequently, Modern Linguistics has been recognised in several countries of the world as one of the most important subjects of scientific study and research. Let us hope that Linguistics will be accepted as a regular subject in our national education and we shall be better equipped to meet the challenge of our language problems with greater understanding and up-to-date scientific approach.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan was founded in 1961 for "promoting linguistic studies and research in Pakistan and popularising studies of Pakistani languages in foreign countries".

A modest beginning was made when we published *A Directory of Pakistani Linguists and Language Scholars* in June this year. It lists in detail various fields of specialisation of Pakistani linguists, their published and unpublished work as well as their research in progress, for developing better understanding and co-operation among them, and for establishing a good tradition of linguistic studies and research in Pakistan. This volume has received encouraging comments from scholars both at home and abroad.

Since October this year, we have started publishing *LRGP Reporter* which serves as a forum for the exchange of news, views and reviews among scholars working in the field of Pakistani Linguistics. We have been greatly encouraged in our venture by the warmth of welcome which this bulletin has elicited from linguistic quarters.

The third Project of the LRGP: *Studies in Pakistani Linguistics*, a collection of twelve research papers by leading Pakistani language scholars has been completed. Difficulties in printing some technical portions of the volume have delayed its publication. We believe that, in a sense, this volume, is our first scholarly work as a research group.

Sir, this briefly is the record of our modest work during the fifteen months of our life as a group.

The idea of the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists and Language Scholars originated from our desire to bring our colleagues in Pakistan together : firstly, to review and take stock of the present state of linguistic studies and research in Pakistan; secondly, to devise ways and means for organising the development of Pakistani Linguistics on a more scientific basis ; thirdly, to co-ordinate various research projects on Pakistani languages undertaken by national and foreign scholars ; fourthly, to outline definite projects for giving sound linguistic foundation to the teaching and learning of Urdu, Bengali, English and other languages in Pakistan, with a view to avoid the collosal wastage of national time and energy which results from lack of standard scientific materials and methods ; fifthly, to present specimens of linguistic research in progress for a critical appraisal by co-workers in an atmosphere of free and friendly discussion. I may add here, in parenthesis, that each scholar is personally responsible for his views and findings. We have already requested all our delegates to avoid all controversial issues which might result in any kind of socio-political misunderstanding. They have promised to restrict their presentations to purely academic level.

Sir, may I now request you to kindly inaugurate the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists and Language Scholars?

Inaugural Address

DR. JUSTICE S. A. RAHMAN
Supreme Court of Pakistan ;
Patron,
Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

It gives me genuine pleasure to welcome you to this Conference which I believe is the first of its kind to be held in Pakistan. The subject of Linguistics is still in its infancy in this country and its importance may not therefore be apparent generally to our educated classes, not to mention the masses. I myself do not claim to be conversant with the several technical problems that this discipline raises or concerns itself with. The scholars assembled here, therefore, would, I hope, bear with me if I give expression to a layman's views on the subject.

If we survey the country from the linguistic angle, we find that Bengali is the language of East Pakistan while several regional languages hold the field in West Pakistan, like Pashto, Panjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi etc. Bengali and Urdu have been recognised as the two State Languages of the future and they are obviously destined to be the official languages of the two wings for administrative purposes. The medium of instruction at lower levels in East Pakistan is Bengali and Urdu occupies a similar position in the regions of the old Panjab, the N. W. F. P., and Baluchistan in West Pakistan, Sindhi replacing it in the old Sind region. I understand that a decision was taken, as a result of the recommendations of the Education Commission, to switch over to Urdu in the latter region

but out of respect for local sentiment the *status quo ante* has been restored. For education at higher levels, English has the pride of place in both wings of the country. In the administrative sphere too, the linguistic pattern bears similarities to that obtaining in the educational field. The position is, however, intended to be reviewed after some time to determine the feasibility of replacing English by Urdu and Bengali at all official levels. In the meantime, Government has set up Organisations in both East and West Pakistan, to activate processes for the development and advancement of the two national languages so that they are enabled to take their rightful place in the national life. It is recognised at all hands that we cannot wholly dispense with English and must retain it as a secondary language as it now occupies an international status and will continue to open for us the door to the treasures of higher modern learning.

It is in the context of this picture that the importance of linguistic studies in our country has to be assessed. The late Quaid-i-Azam was of the firm view that there ought to be only one State language for the whole country. That parhaps should be a coveted goal but for the present, traditional and emotional attachments stand in the way of its realisation. It is a truism of social dynamics that a common language is the symbol and visible expression of a common outlook in a community and it can also be a very potent formative factor in bringing about social solidarity and cohesion. The two wings of our country are separated by a thousand miles of alien territory but the people residing therein are indissolubly linked together by a common ideology—the ideology that gave birth to Pakistan. This geographical separation might involve some administrative problems but cannot militate against the hard core of essential one-ness between East and West Pakistan. More worthy of study is the psychological distance of which the language diversity is but a manifestation. With the increasing tempo of inter-wing communications and social, cultural and economic exchanges between the two parts of the country, it is to be hoped that the Urdu and Bengali languages will act and

react on each other to the mutual advantage of both and we shall be brought nearer to the goal of the common national medium of expression. Scholars of Linguistics can help in this process by high-lighting the patent and latent affinities that exist between the two languages in their existing states. The other day, one scholar brought it to my notice that there was a remarkable phonetic similarity between certain Bengali and Panjabi words which are used in the same sense in the two languages. Perhaps in course of time the two wings of Pakistan may come to agree on a common script which may well be the Naskh form of Arabic script, for every Muslim child has to be familiar with the language of the Quran and the adoption of such a script would decrease the educational load of the average student. I recall that at one time Bengali books used to be written in the Huruf-i-Quran and a movement for popularising that script was started at Chittagong, in recent times. I have of course, put forward only my personal opinion in this matter and if the idea catches on, practical shape can only be given to it by the initiative and energy of our East Pakistani brethren themselves. If such a consummation ever takes place, the pace of mutual recognition between the two languages may receive a further momentum.

A similar study of the structures and vocabularies of some of the regional languages of West Pakistan in comparison with Urdu can yield fruitful results, in the Provincial sphere. Such a study I apprehend, can lead to a more comprehensive understanding between the speakers of regional tongues and the consciousness of a common stock and source of inspiration. The necessity of a well-integrated common official language enriched by contributions from the regional reservoirs of expression may then be more easily appreciated. There can be a two-way traffic between the official language designate of West Pakistan and the regional tongues for their mutual benefit. Incidentally, I venture to think that the view recently expressed in certain quarters that Panjabi should be the medium of instruction instead of Urdu, at the primary stage of education in the old Panjab region, would put back the clock of

progress and would eventually harm the interests of the local student community. Apart from the difficulty of choosing a particular Panjabi dialect as the standard for this purpose, problems of adjustment at higher levels of education would be bound to arise in an acute form. After all the spoken language and the language of literature and education have always diverged from each other. Panjabi, according to one research school at least, occupies a parental status *vis-a-vis* Urdu and the adoption of Panjabi as medium of instruction would therefore appear to be uncalled for, involving as it does an unnecessary break with a successful and healthy tradition. That does not mean, however, that regional languages and literatures should receive scant attention.

This brings me to another point that requires earnest consideration at the hands of experts in Linguistics. I think the time is now ripe for the compilation of basic vocabularies of Bengali and Urdu for the benefit of those who wish to acquire a functional proficiency in the two languages as contrasted with scholarly attainment. Improvement in teaching techniques and the reform of scripts from the phonetic as well as the printing and typing angle is another field which offers a challenge to the acumen and ingenuity of our scholars. Dissemination of education on a wider scale is evidently linked up with such reforms. I might mention that the Central Urdu Development Board of West Pakistan has already started a project for the compilation of Basic Urdu Vocabulary and I hope this aspect of educational advancement in respect of Bengali will receive the attention of scholars in East Pakistan. The Pashto Academy of Peshawar had taken in hand the work of evolving a Key Board for a typewriter that could meet the needs of all the regional languages of West Pakistan. There have been other individual and organisational efforts in that direction and the Central Urdu Development Board has recently appointed a Sub-Committee to assess what has been done and to finalize its own recommendations on the subject.

In the end, I may be permitted to say that all living languages develop by assimilation and adaptation and change in response to environmental influences. There has been an intermixture of populations speaking various languages in Pakistan as a result of the influx of large numbers of refugees from India. New language patterns may, therefore, emerge as a consequence of these social upheavals. The processes by which such changes develop would, I apprehend, be a fascinating study for those interested in Linguistics. If such studies can establish the silver thread of unity running through the apparent diversities of languages, the time and energy devoted to them would have been well spent in the service of the nation.

Message

MR. MOHAMMAD ALI
Minister for External Affairs,
Government of Pakistan ;
Patron,
Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan.

It would have been a great honour and privilege for me if I were able to preside over the inaugural session of the First All-Pakistan Conference of Linguists and Language Scholars, but man proposes God disposes. Unfortunately, I am still convalescing after my recent illness and have not received the doctor's clearance to resume normal activities. I am, therefore, sending this message to the Conference.

The Conference which is being organised under the auspices of the Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan is, perhaps, the first of its kind in Pakistan's history. This Conference will be doing a yeoman service to the cause of the unity and solidarity of the people of East and West Pakistan, if it succeeds at least in giving a lead and direction for the solution of the problem of a national language.

There is no doubt that if a national language could be evolved for both the Wings of Pakistan, there will be a greater feeling of cohesion and unity amongst the people because linguistic unity is one of the factors that connote nationhood. In the past no serious attempt has been made to solve this complex problem because the issue has been politically a very explosive one and all political leaders considered that discretion was the better part of valour.

The Urdu language itself is a synthesis and fusion of two languages. From a humble beginning it has become practically the *lingua franca* of the sub-continent. It is rich in culture and tradition. I do not see why we cannot borrow from what has taken place in the past and evolve a Pakistani national language, that will satisfy and meet the sentiments, the emotions and the feelings of the people in both the Wings. The Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan will be breaking new grounds if it at least focusses attention on this problem and initiates a research so that something definite and concrete may emerge as a result of its endeavours. I shall always watch with interest the efforts of this group of scholars and patriots and wish them every success.

Rawalpindi
December 21, 1962.

Teaching of Arabic in Pakistan

Dr. Shaikh Inayatullah
Formerly Professor of Arabic,
University of the Panjab, Lahore.

From the earliest period of their history, Muslims have been accustomed to associate education, like all other departments of social life, with religion. From the very beginning the aim of education was ethical ; because it was held that true education was to teach and train a man to do his duty to his Creator and his fellowmen ; and it was sought to attain this aim and object through religious instruction. And here comes in the importance of the Arabic language in the Muslim society. The Quran and the Traditions of the Prophet (Hadith), the two main sources of Islamic belief and practice are in Arabic. It was, therefore, found that a knowledge of Arabic was necessary for a first hand study of the Islamic faith.

These considerations will explain why purely religious disciplines, such as the Exegesis of the Quran (Tafsir al-Quran), the Traditions of the Prophet (Ilm al-Hadith) and Muslim law (Fiqh) have always occupied a dominant position in the scheme of Muslim education in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Even today, the course of study pursued at our madrasahs of the old type is mainly religious in character. These madrasahs were originally intended to give complete education to their alumni ; but they have failed to keep pace with the changing times and have not expanded their curriculum so as to include modern subjects. Thus, they have now become almost exclusive theological seminaries, which lay their main stress on religious sciences, and treat other subjects such as Arabic language and literature only as ancillary and sub-

ordinate branches of study. The teaching of Arabic at these institutions, therefore, does not receive due attention ; and the curriculum and teaching methods both stand in need of vast improvement.

In the first place, the students of Arabic stand in need of Arabic grammars written on scientific lines and suited to the various stages of education. It is true that there is a fairly large number of Arabic grammars in the Eastern languages and there are some in the Western languages, too, which are mainly based on the former class. But, unfortunately, they are not always scientific in the arrangement and treatment of the various topics discussed. Nothing is farther from my intention than to belittle the labours of Arabic philologists of the earlier centuries. Personally, I have the greatest admiration and the highest respect for the minute care and the sharp acumen which they displayed in the study of the phenomena of Arabic language. But we must not forget that they wrote for their own age and that their work however meritorious, was essentially of a pioneering nature. Accordingly most of the grammar books that have been handed down to us leave much to be desired as regards the arrangement and presentation of the subject-matter. In modern times, some people have, indeed, given some thought to the matter. Maulana Shibli (d. 1914), for instance, has given in some of his articles suggestions for a more scientific treatment of the subject. The late Dr. Gottlich Leitner also tried to deal with this problem and published at Lahore in 1871 "An Introduction to a Philosophical Grammar of Arabic", in which he attempted to discover a few simple principles in Arabic grammar. But his booklet strikes me as inadequate and too sketchy for the purpose.

The second urgent desideratum of the student of Arabic, especially the advanced student, is a comprehensive dictionary which should deal with the classical as well as modern Arabic. I do not propose to detract from the merits of the existing dictionaries or to find fault with them unnecessarily. They are quite good

so far as they go and are useful within the limits set by their compilers. The great Arabic-English Lexicon of Lane, as well as the native lexicons on which it is based, deal with the classical language only. Moreover, Lane's Lexicon is incomplete, stopping at the letter *Q*. The Dutch historian and Orientalist, Reinhart Dozy, has registered the post-classical development of the Arabic language in his well-known ***Supplement Aux Dictionaries Arabes***, which he compiled with infinite industry with the help of glossaries and lexicographical notes left by earlier scholars as well as on the basis of his own reading. It would be ungracious to under-estimate the invaluable service that Dozy has thus rendered to the cause of Arabic lexicography ; but I am constrained to observe that his own reading was generally confined to the writings of Andalusian and Moroccan authors.

There is a serious defect which is shared in common by almost all Arabic dictionaries compiled by the native scholars. The foreign element in the Arabic language is not properly noted and if it is noticed at all, its origin is not satisfactorily explained. Jawaliqi, Khafaji and a few other scholars have tried to deal with the loan-words, but the task seems to be too difficult for them. With our better knowledge of the foreign sources involved in this study, the modern scholar is in a much better position to deal with this rather difficult but interesting subject.

Arabic literature is very poorly represented in the curriculum of our madrasahs; and whatever works of literature are included in the courses, are mostly literary curiosities, like the *Maqamat* of Al-Hariri, which are merely examples of ornate rhymed prose. Much time, it is true, is spent on grammar (Ilm al-Nahw) ; but its prolonged study through antiquated text-books leaves little time for a thorough study of literature itself.

This being the case, literary history as a related branch of study has been indeed a far cry. The result has been that the students educated on the old lines generally know only the names of a few poets and writers of rhymed prose. They have no idea of the

development of literature as a connected and continuous process, and have only a hazy notion of the intellectual and literary achievements of the peoples who have used Arabic as the medium of their literary expression. It is scarcely realized by them that outside the Quran, the law books and grammars, with which their curriculum has made them familiar, there exists a rich and vast literature that touches on every theme of human thought and activity.

It should not be difficult to produce a book in Urdu on the basis of several excellent works, which already exist on the subject in western languages. There are also a number of modern Arabic works, chiefly Egyptian, which may serve as models for a short or long history of Arabic literature in the Urdu language. Among the European works we may mention the excellent *Introduction to Arabic Literature* by Professor H. A. R. Gibb which is a short but authoritative survey of the whole field. Next in scope and volume comes Prof. Brochelmann's *Shorter History of Arabic Literature*, which is slightly fuller than Professor Gibb's manual. An intermediate position between the two is taken by the works of Prof. Clement Huart and Dr. R. A. Nicholson. Although Huart's *Arabic Literature* contains notices of a large number of writers and poets and is therefore useful for reference, it cannot bear comparison with Dr. Nicholson's *Literary History of the Arabs* in the charm and vigour of its literary style and the excellent method adopted for treating the subject. After giving an historical sketch of each period and a brief account of its religious, political and intellectual movements, the learned author selects a few representative poets and writers for a full discussion and thus takes us right into the atmosphere of the period under consideration.

Another need of the students of Arabic is a *Companion to Arabic Studies*, which should serve as a general introduction to Arabian life and literature. The pages of every Arabic book abound in references to certain manners and customs, models of

thought and of expression, which have to be explained to the students, who are generally ignorant of the material life and mental outlook of the Arabian poetry. It is so rooted in the land and life of the Arabs that its contents, its special features and spirit cannot be properly understood, much less appreciated, without a fairly good knowledge of the material and moral aspects of the life which it depicts. Are our students sufficiently informed about the basic facts of Arabian life and institutions, and about the milieu in which they have developed ? I am afraid they are not. These things, I admit, are explained by every conscientious teacher to the best of his knowledge, but such teaching is fitful and incidental ; and the bits of information that are doled out as occasion demands are without any system or logical order. So far as I know, information of this kind is not to be found collectively in any single book, which could be put in the hands of the young students with absolute confidence in its usefulness.

We find that former generations of scholars and teachers produced text-books, reference books and help-books and thus tried to meet the needs of the students according to their own light. I think we shall be neglecting our duty and prove unworthy of our great traditions, if we failed to make our own distinctive contribution to the educational literature of our own times. Of all the boons that it is in the power of a teacher to confer upon the general body of students, one of the greatest is the production of useful works of reference, such as manuals, guides, dictionaries and encyclopaedias. If a teacher's worth to the student community can be fairly gauged by such a measure, the present generation of Arabic teachers in Pakistan, I am afraid, must stand at a regrettably low level.

Metalinguistics and Public Administration

Dr. James S. Roberts
Department of Public Administration,
University of the Panjab, Lahore.

In the formal study of public administration, language is a peripheral area of interest. Problems of communication are important, but the level of concern is limited largely to the techniques of communication, the channels of formal and informal communication, and the importance of such factors as personal motivation and individual receptivity to communication. Where language itself is considered, attention is usually directed to more effective use of language in writing and speaking and to the problems of jargon, cant, and the unfortunate development of a "government style" which seems an inevitable part of the "professionalization" of the public service. Almost no attention is given to the nature of language, its relation to thought and behaviour, and the structural strengths and weaknesses of a particular language.

Normally, within a country where nearly everyone is a partner to the same linguistic system, the administrator does not need an understanding of language at the level to be considered here. Most languages, properly used, permit clarity of expression and meaning in administering the internal affairs of state, although the usual administrative directive would lead one to believe otherwise. Language and culture normally develop together and each, whatever limitations the outsider may discern, serves the

other reasonably well. However, when the administrative structure must operate among several linguistic systems as in the administration of foreign policy, international organizations, or in a country such as Pakistan, a basic understanding of the strengths and limitations of language is important. It is here that the administrator must turn to the linguist for help.

A general sense of language limitations is readily perceived. A language is made up of words. Words are symbols or abstractions of the real world. The task of language is to use a finite number of words (in English, a word-rich language, the number of words has been estimated to be about six hundred thousand) in various set patterns to describe an infinite number of facts, experiences, and relationships. Distortions of reality through the imperfections of every language are bound to occur. Many writers have written good, and reasonably popular, books dealing with this level of language limitations.

Others have probed more deeply into certain problems of language. Of these, a small group of language scholars concerned with an area known as "metalinguistics" are pursuing a direction of inquiry which has particular relevance where administrative responsibilities involve several languages. Metalinguistics is concerned primarily with the relation of language, thought and culture. Much of the work has been done by Americans such as Benjamin Lee Whorf and Edward Sapir. The implications of their work, however, extend to all languages and need to be studied afresh from other cultural perspectives. In hopes of encouraging such study in Pakistan, this paper will : (1) review the work of Whorf and others in metalinguistics, (2) explore the general importance of such work to the study of administration, and (3) consider some aspects with reference to Pakistan.

Metalinguistics

The conventional view of language is that it functions as a device for expressing ideas already formed. Formulation is an independent process called thought or thinking. "Right thinking"

is determined by the laws of logic and, when followed, one gets a perception of reality which is universal. An American sees a cow. The idea of a cow is formed and with it perhaps the idea to call another person's attention to the animal. The result might be the phrase, "Look, a cow." A Frenchman, Slav, Hindu, or Pakistani might use different words, but whatever symbols are used they express the same thought pattern. Different languages then, according to this view, are simply parallel methods of describing the world about us.

Whorf and other linguists take a different view. Language is not simply a device for transmitting ideas ; rather it is a shaper of ideas. Reality is a "flux of impressions" which is organized by our minds largely through language. In short we see things as our linguistic system allows us to see them. Edward Sapir, perhaps the dean of American linguists, has stated :

> It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication. The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached.

In his various papers, Whorf gives a variety of examples of how different languages give different perceptions of reality. His examples are taken from the languages of the American Indians but the ideas are more generally applicable. Basically, English provides bi-polar division of nature : verbs and nouns. The Hopi language classifies events by duration type. English nouns such as lightning, wave, flame, meteor and other events of necessarily brief duration are verbs in Hopi.

In slicing up the "real world," Hopi has one noun to cover everything that flies except birds. That the same noun is used for insect, plane, and aviator causes the Hopi Indian no more difficulty than we experience using the word "snow" to cover several words used by an Eskimo.

In his paper, "Language and Logic," Whorf argues that "Western culture has made, through language, a provisional analysis of reality and, without correctives, holds resolutely to that analysis as final." To illustrate his position he asks the English-speaking observer to discern similarities in various sets of sentences. In Shawnee, the two following sentences would be stated in similar fashion : "I drop it (a paddle) in the water and it floats" and "I push his head back." To a person thinking within the English language system, the sentences are unlike because they deal with unlike facts. In Shawnee, however, a single word is used to describe the action and reaction of a force. The action of a hand against a head and a paddle against the water are, in regard to forces, similar. It may be argued that a physicist would easily recognize a similarity in the two phenomena described, but this does not alter the fact that our language is an obstacle to seeing the similarity.

For those who feel that the similarity was obvious from the beginning, the following sentences, almost identical in Shawnee, may offer a greater challenge : "I pull the branch aside" and "I have an extra toe on my foot." After a few moments with these sentences, one may feel disposed to accept Whorf's view of linguistic relativity : "Facts are unlike to speakers whose language background provides for unlike formulation of them."

Since our perception of reality moulds our conduct, a language which inadequately reflects reality may cause behaviour which is consistent with language but not reality. Whorf was employed for some time as an executive for the Hartford Fire Insurance Company. In the course of his work he analyzed hundreds of

reports which described the circumstances surrounding the start of fires. What impressed him most was the apparent role of languages as a factor in starting a fire. He points out that behaviour around "gasoline drums" will differ from that around "empty gasoline drums". Physically each situation is dangerous, but behaviour tends to be less careful around empty gasoline drums because "empty" almost always suggests a lack of hazard even though in this case the term is used, as it is conventionally, to describe the absence of a liquid or a solid.

Normally, we are unconscious of the influence which language exerts on our thinking. Those of us who have been fortunate enough to learn another language, particularly those from a significantly different linguistic system, doubtlessly share the experience of grasping certain ideas or explaining certain phenomena better in one language than in another. We may even become aware of the critical limitations of our native language. Whorf's views, however, were more sweeping. He held that our conceptions of time, space, and matter were all moulded by our linguistic system. It is our concept of time which perhaps exercises the greatest discipline on our behaviour. To Western European culture, time is kinetic and one-dimensional, flowing in equal spaces from the past to the present to the future. This extreme sense of time has developed through an inter-play of language and culture. The result is a society deeply concerned with records, book-keeping, exact sequence, calendars, time wages, clocks, and the setting forth of programmes, schedules and budgets.

Following a similar thesis, Edmund Wilson has made some provocative observations on the relation of verb development to behaviour. Comparing English and Russian language structure, Wilson argues that structural differences between the two languages have moulded different behaviour patterns toward problem solving in each country. He begins by pointing out that, in any language, the key to a people's conception of time is contained

in the tenses of verbs. The Slavs, like the Hopi Indians, lack the Western European concept of the present as a definite moment. Western European languages cut up time into past, present, future. Russians make their fundamental distinction between actions completed and actions going on. This structural difference, Wilson argues, has made the Russian language less prone to time behaviour, less clock-oriented.

It is this lack of, or freedom from clock time which, according to Wilson, explains in part Russian excellence in research and Pure Science. It is this clock behaviour, however, that gives our civilization its superior industrial technology. The Russians do not think in terms of nine-to-five work but problem to problem work, and their patterns of thought are linguistically determined. To theorize that the Russian is less clock oriented does not mean that the average Russian reports any less punctually to his factory than his American counterpart or that he takes any less pride in possessing a fine watch. Wilson simply holds that the Russian language disposes the Russian to think in terms of actions or tasks to be done or completed rather than in terms of time. An understanding of such language orientation to problem solving is important to the successful conduct of international relations.

At this point it is important to consider to what extent we are discussing cultural differences rather than those of language. Again in Whorf's words :

> In the main they (language patterns and cultural norms) have grown up together, constantly influencing each other. But in this partnership the nature of language is the factor that limits free plasticity and rigidified channels of development in the more autocratic way. This is because language is a system, not just an assemblage of norms.

The inter-relation of language and culture is commonly agreed to, but Whorf's view that language is the factor which moulds and limits in the more autocratic way is readily challenged. Whorf

defends his position by pointing out that language is a system and we force reality to conform to that system until overwhelming evidence forces us to make certain changes.

Metalinguistics and Administration

Whorf's thesis applied to administration would hold that administrative institutions and processes have taken particular form due to language structure. Similar situations viewed through different languages will, therefore, produce varying attitudes and consequent behaviour.

That different languages provide different perspectives on administration was demonstrated by the attempt of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences to present an "Outline of a Trilingual Dictionary of Administration." The languages involved were English, French and Spanish. The first term tackled was "organization," which is spelled identically in British English and French and with but slight orthographic changes in American English and Spanish. Despite the close relationship of the three languages and the cognate nature of the three terms, the article observes :

> It will be perceived that, even though the object as such is the same in the three languages concerned, the 'Latin mind' perceives it under another aspect than we do. We see facts as they happen and proceed, and have a tendency toward considering a *common human endeavour* as the essential element in organization. For a Latin mind, however, the word conveys something quite different. The implied insistence is on *logical, a priori, structure,* and there is nothing to indicate that the endeavour concerned should not be something strictly individual. . We should never forget the fact that this person will instinctivity see in organization much more of *science* than we do, and that we feel the word to convey a complicated, ever —changing action.

Many persons involved in technical aid programmes have expressed concern over language difficulties. Superficial aspects of this problem lead them to urge that more American technicians learn the language of the country in which they are working.

There is also greater realization of cultural barriers. The modified White Man's Burden attitude which characterized earlier technical assistance is changing. People involved with these programmes recognize the need for a greater understanding of cultural differences and the importances of working with or through the indigenous cultures rather than trying to superimpose American ideas.

Following the ideas of Whorf, there is another dimension to the problem of communication in technical assistance work. Not only is it important that persons involved in these programmes understand the language and culture of the country in which they happen to be working, but they must also understand that the people with whom they are working may be linguistically disposed to a different view of the world about them and that these views may make communication more difficult. For example, one major aspect of technical aid programmes is to increase food production. Artificial insemination is one method of rapid improvement of cattle stock. Convincing persons in other parts of the world as to the desirability of the programme has been difficult. The need for a good knowledge of the language of the society being aided is obviously necessary. It is also clear that the technicians must understand any cultural objections or resistances such as religion to such programmes. What the metalinguist would also point out is that the technician should expect resistance derived from the language itself.

Most societies needing this type of technical aid do not have the cultural and linguistic understanding that permits the scientific impersonality of the term "artificial insemination". Attempting to render the phrase in a native language may give the connotation of "false" or "unnatural" procreation. The customary conception of "false" or "unnatural" and the highly taboo nature of human reproduction may lead to irrational resistance to the programmes.

The Study of Metalinguistics in Pakistan

Interest by Pakistani language scholars in metalinguistics could have a number of important values. One would be to test the ideas of Whorf and others with respect to the role of language in the perception of reality. Pakistan offers a fascinating array of languages. Are there significant structural differences between Panjabi and Bengali which dispose people in East and West Pakistan to different modes of conduct? Do the few non-Indo-European languages in Pakistan cut up nature along different lines as suggested by Whorf's studies of the American Indian languages? How suitable is English to describe Pakistani conceptions of society, values and cultural norms?

The relations of such questions to the day-to-day problems of society are not often clear. In Pakistan, however, these are meaningful questions. In West Pakistan, the language of administration at the policy forming and directive level is English and Urdu. At the level of application or enforcement, the linguistic framework may be Pashto, Panjabi, Sindhi, or some other regional language. Obviously the several languages cause difficulties, but are their differences such as to produce different patterns of thought?

It seems clear that important language changes will take place in Pakistan. In studying these changes some of the above questions should be carefully considered.

A Note on Multani Language

SHAYKH IKRAMUL HAQ
Al-Ikram, Multan.

Multan as a cradle of human life is steeped in antiquity. It is so old as to have seen history grow and flourish in its lap. Al-Beiruni who lived here about 1000 A. D. writes in his famous *Indica* that Hindus of his day considered Multan to have been in existence for over two hundred thousand years. That may be a legend but so much is certain that when Aryans came down from Pamirs, they found it a flourishing town and that is why they called it : Mool-Asthan or Mool-Taran *i.e.* Basic City—'mool' in Sanskrit meaning 'basic'. The period of Aryan dominance according to *Rig Veda* is over four thousand years back.

Whatever language was spoken by the aboriginal dwellers of this area it came to be overshadowed by Sanskrit which Aryans spoke. That was the first admixture of tongues and although Sanskrit gained ascendance as any conquering language would, yet the basic words and expressions were not lost.

The richness of Indus Valley of which Multan was the crowning capital attracted invaders. We find it coveted first and conquerred by Osiris, King of Egypt. He is the same Osiris who is said to have introduced Indians to agriculture and civilization and to have been so revered for his goodness as to be worshipped in the derivative *Ishwar*.

Then followed a galaxy of conquerors of different climes and different tongues. The beautiful Semiramis, Queen of Babylon and Assyria, the Medes, the white Huns from across the Hindukush

(of whom the Getes or Jats remained), the Scythians, the Persians under Feridun and Cyrus, the Greeks under Alexander, the Arabs, the Turks, the Mongols, the Persians again, the Afghans and finally the English.

With every invasion there was a miscegenation of races and a mixture of speech and expression and currents, and social and religious movements which influenced the common spoken language.

Multan has all through the ages retained its hegemony as a cultural centre of Indus valley and Multani has therefore been the most important of local languages. Even today it is known as 'Seraiki' in Sindhi, 'Seraiki' meaning the language of 'Sardars'. It is an irony of fate that political re-groupings have brought into prominence regional languages like Panjabi, Sindhi and Balochi, and the parent language has been relegated to a comparatively secondary position.

The importance of Multani could be judged from the fact that it is the most widely spoken language in West Pakistan ; serving an area of about 75,000 squares miles comprising the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, Multan, the former States of Bahawalpur and Khairpur and Balochistan and is spoken by about half a crore (5 million) inhabitants of West Pakistan.

The main strands that have woven themselves into the fabric of modern Multani are besides the old native dialect, the Aryan Sanskrit, the Buddhist Prakrit, the Zorastrian Pahlvi, the Muslim Arabic, Muslim Persian and the Christian English.

The process had started with the language of *Rig Veda* with the softening of dentals. There was, for example, the change of *d* into *l* as in *Sola* (16) in place of *Sodasa* or *Na'l* for *Nada.* This change had continued during the middle Indian period of Prakrit and was mainly concerned with the splitting of dentals into dentals and cereberals, and further the change of dentals into cereberals—a

phenomenon which was noticeable later too, *e.g.*, *das* (to bite) changing into *ḍas*—with a soft *d.* However, just as original Multani was overlaid by Sanskrit, the latter-day Multani was overwhelmed by Arabic and Persian. The borrowings from all dominant languages have been so extensive that it is difficult to assign the limit of each influence.

Nevertheless Samskrit influence is distinctly traceable, *e.g.*,

Sanskrit		*Multani*		*Meaning*
پلان	(Palan)	پلان	(Palan)	Saddle
مند	(Mand)	منده	(Manda)	Slow
ننانند	(Ninand)	ننان	(Ninan)	Husband's sister
بانهه	(Banh)	بانهه	(Banḥ)	Arm
لون	(Loon)	لون	(Loon)	Salt
سينهه	(Sinh)	شينهه	(Shinḥ)	Lion

As for other languages one has to go a little deep to notice the similarity *e. g.* Assyrian *Sangu* meaning 'respected', is to be found with a slight change in the meaning in *sangi*—friend.

Prakrits borrowings may be evidenced by *Masana* (cremation-ground) changing into *Smasana* or *Shamshan* and *Neha* (love) changing into *Sneha* (Love-message); and strikingly enough Prakrit *Lathi* remainin g *Lathi* to this day, Lesser Pahlvi *Nahar* may be recognized in Multani *Niranh* (breakfast).

The other big influence as extensive as of Sanskrit on Multani is of Arabic and Persian. Taking Arabic, for example, the words of every-day use :

Arabic *Multani*

کره (Kurrah) (round) has become کروه (Karwah) (Ewer).

کتف (Kitf) (shoulder—joint) has been particularized for mutton-joint as کتيف (Katif).

Arabic *Multani*

بصل (Basl) (onion) is spoken as وصل (Wasal) in the same meaning.

فوم (Foom) (Garlic) is used as تھوم (Thoom) in the same meaning.

فجر (Fajr) (Morning) is still (Fajir) فجر (morning).

قمیض (Qamiz) (Shirt) though advanced in fashion remains the same in meaning.

مقراض (Miqraz) (Scissors) is used as مقراض (Miqraz) in the same meaning.

Coming to Persian, and again picking from common parlance, we find آفتابہ (Long-necked ewer) of Persian, becoming استاوا (Astawa).

ڈول (An earthen vessel) becoming ڈول (Dol) in Multani.

بالائی (Cream) becoming ملائی (Malai) in Multani.

ھاون دستہ (Pestle and Mortar) becoming حمام دستہ (Hamam Dasta) in Multani.

زال (woman) becoming most-intimate زال (wife) in Multani.

English, of course, has given the ancient Multani, the modern بلیک - بسکٹ - سکول - پتلون - کوٹ - ریل and so on.

Despite these borrowings, however, there can still be found a substratum of ancient Multani, not only in words but also in its peculiar form of speech, as for example, in this verse of Baba Farid Shakar-Ganj uttered about 800 years back :

فریدا کالے میڈے کپڑے کالا میڈا ویس
گنہیں بھریا میں پھراں لوک آکھن درویش

(O Farid! Black are my clothes and black my apparel—way of life, Full of sins I move about and still people call me a holy man). پھراں - آکھن - میڈا are old Multani.

It would be wrong to suppose that Urdu took its birth from Panjabi as Hafiz Mahmud Khan Sherani in his book پنجاب میں اردو (Punjab men Urdu) has tried to prove. It is in fact Multani which has given rise to Urdu and Panjabi. Interestingly enough almost all the instances or arguments advanced by Hafiz Sherani are derived from Multani which proves that Multani is the fountain-head and Urdu and other regional languages are its streams.

Till such time as the conquest of Multan by Muslims under Muhammad Bin Qasim in 95 A. H. (714 A. D.), Multani was Sanskritized Hindi. The specimen of ancient Multani poetry is to be found in the versified exploits of Mohyal Brahmins who are one of the seven branches of Dutts—also known as Hussaini Brahmins by reason of having aided Imam Hussain in his battles. Dutts are one of the oldest branches of Brahmins, their progenitor having been the preceptor of Kurwas and Pandwas. It can, therefore, be safely presumed that their family-hymns were the repository of Basic Multani. Here is a piece :

سدھ جھو چھا کی انش میں دت نام سلطان
سدھ و یوگ جو بیرجی عرب کیو استھان
رائے پن پن اتمی کرن دیس جو دھیان
دھارو میرو جو دت ھن عرب کیو استھان
جئے دت جو بیر سار دو ٹوک مچائی
سب شترو کو ماربیچ رن پھرےدھائی

(Dutt who is born of Sidh Yog in an auspicious moment took up abode in Arabia. God-fearing guardian of their country Dharu and Miru who are Dutts also went to live in Arabia. So great prowess was shown by Dutt in war that the battle-field rang with the cry that all enemies were killed).

Here nouns are mostly Sanskrit but the verbs are ancient Multani.

With the advent of Arabs as conquerors, Arabic began to be studied so much so that Abdullah bin Haroon Multani wrote

verses in Arabic, and according to Ibn-i-Aankal (343 A. H. or 953 A. D.) Arabic was common in Multan of his time.

Towards the end of the 4th century of Hijri era Daylamites and Khurasanis gained ascendancy and Persian became popular and Bishari Mugadassi found it current when he visted Multan in 375 A. D.

Arabic and Persian words naturally found their way into indigenous Multani as already indicated.

The Chaucer of present day Multani is Hazrat Baba Farid Ganj-Shakar who was born in a village near Multan and died at Pakpattan about 584 A. H. His verses, preserved in Sikh Granth Sahib are the best specimen of Arabic-Persian-Hindi mixture.

فریدا کالے میڈے کپڑے کالا میڈا ویس
گنہیں بھریا میں پھراں لوک آکھن درویش
فریدا روٹی میڈی کاٹھدی لون میڈا پکھ
جنہاں کھادی چوپڑی ڈاڈھے کھاسن دکھ

(Farid, black are my clothes black my ways—apparel. Full of sins I move about and people call me *dervesh*. O Farid, my bread is of wood and my salt the earth—پکھ . Those who eat buttered bread they will see troubles.)

نفس مبادا که بگوید ترا   خیز چه خسپی که اجّن رات هے
چوتنهاروی زیر ایهو زمین   نیک عمل کن که ایها ڈات هے
پنه شکر گنج بدل جاں شنو   ضائع مکن عمر که هیهات هے

(The ego might say to you it is still night—hearken not—rise, why sleep. As you have to go alone under this earth—do good deeds because this is charity. Listen to the advice of Ganj Shakar and do not waste life, alas!)

Not long after the above, Amir Khusrau's sojourn in Multan gave impetus to the mixture of Arabic and Persian with Hindi (which was another name for Multani). Describing his capture

at the hands of Mongols after the battle in which Prince Muhammad son of Balban was killed, he says :

من کہ بر سر نمی نہادم گل   بار بر سر نہاد و گفتا جل

جل (Jul) with soft J means in Multani 'to move'.

Multan and Dipalpur were then the bulwarks of Muslim India against devastating Mongols and armies and their commanders came and went from here. For example, Ghiasuddin took a whole army recruited from Multan and surrounding country to Delhi. Even earlier, Multanis had in large numbers migrated to Delhi and flourished greatly in trade. About 816 A. H. Khizr Khan, Governor of Multan, under instructions from Taimur invaded Delhi with an army composed of inhabitants of Multan and environs.

From these extensive migrations in dominant position there could well be judged the extent to which Multani must have influenced both as a parent and as an associate of the spoken language of Delhi which was termed either as Rekhta or Urdu.

That Multani is a parent language of Urdu is further supported by the fact that Urdu in its rules of grammar is very near to Multani. For instance:

1. In Multani, nouns are joined by connecting words دا - دے - دیاں which change into کا - کے - کی of Urdu, for example, ملتان دا حلوہ into ملتان کا حلوہ .

2. In Multani, the adjective comes before noun in an adjectival clause and the same is the case with Urdu, *e. g.* Multani سوھنا بال and Urdu خوبصورت لڑکا .

3. Plurals are formed by a common method, the grammatical genders are governed by the same rules and tenses follow the same formation.

4. Two-thirds of Urdu vocabulary shows Multani lineage. Hafiz Mahmud Khan Sherani has given a long list of words which were used in India in the 7th or 8th century of the Hijri era and which were peculiar to Multani and are used in it to this day.

5. The most important phenomenon is the dropping of intervocalic vowel A. In Multani this had happened ages back *e.g.* آنکھ had become اکھ - لاکھ : لکھ - ناک : نک - ھاتھ : ھتھ and so on. Both northern and southern Indians were about the time after Multani migrations using the same words with inter-vocalic vowel dropped. پا ک (Bhasha for head-gear) was پگ . Amir Khusrau says (725 A. H.):

اے دھلی والے بتان سادہ   پگ بستہ اور چیرہ کج نہادہ

کھاٹ was کھٹ as Fakhar-ud-Din Mubarak in his فرھنگ (*Farhang*) written in 8th century says: تختہ ھندواں باشد میاں بافتہ = کت *i.e. Kat* is Hindu bedding woven in between, انب - بھنڈ - کھنڈ are other instances.

6. Another noticeable feature is that nominative verb with combined nasal *yn-ayn* - ین was used in Urdu which was a characteristic of Multani : اوکوں اکھین (tell him) ایہہ کریں (Do this) and so on, are Multani. We have about the same in Urdu:

وحشت و شیفتہ اب مرثیہ کہویں شاید
مر گیا غالب آشفتہ نوا کہتے ھیں

7. Again the formation of continuing tense by addition of سی (si) is a feature of Multani which had also been adopted by Urdu, *e. g.* رسالہ معراج العاشقین (*Risala Merajul Aashqin*) written by Syed Muhammad Hussain Gesu Daraz in 825 A. H. in oldest Urdu wherein occurs:

ممکن کی انک سوں غیر نہ دیکھنا سو
غفلت کے کان سوں غیر نہ سننا سو

i. e. دیکھتے رھنا - سنتے رھنا. Compare this with Multani :

دم حیدر حیدر کرسوں   انہاں موذیاں کولوں نہ ڈرسوں

(We shall call upon Ali and shall not be frightened by these evil-doers).

8. Still more, the composite words of Urdu in which the latter part is supposed to be meaningless (تابع مہمل) is fraught

with meaning in Multani and is still used *e. g.* in تانگنا ، دھاڑے ، چپاتا ، مانگنا تانگنا ۔ دن دھاڑے ۔ چپ چپانا are meaningless in Urdu but mean in Multani : silent, day, awaiting.

It would burden the paper to multiply instances but it would be abundantly apparent to every one that Urdu has really to look to Multani as its parent language. It would be useful in this context to remember that upto the 7th century A. H., Lahore was part of the principality of Multan. Syed Ali Hujwairi (Data Ganj Bakhsh) Lahori says:

من اندر دیار هند در بلده لاهور که از مضافات ملتان است درمیان ناجنسان گرفتار شدم

Panjabi is as much an off-spring of Multani as Urdu or for that matter Sindhi and Balochi. Abul Fazal, for example, calls the language of the people of Panjab as Multani.

The earliest work written in Modern Multani is a versified book on the rules of bathing, shrouding and burying the dead, entitled مسائل غسل کفن و دفن (*Masail-i-Ghusal-o-Kafan-o-Dafan*) by Nur Muhammad of Shergarh written in 1137 A. D. In 1218 A.D. was produced the more famous book of Hazrat Mian Abdul Hakim یوسف زلیخا (*Yusuf Zuleikha*). Multani literature multiplied but lacked recognition and later was comptetely overshadowed by the conquering languages.

However, the frequent mixing of the different languages had a unique effect on Multani. If made it more expressive and infinitely sweet. The whole range of sounds from very hard to ultra-soft have found representation and their grouping has given rise to more letters, more words spreading over more expressive fields. As a result Multani has seven extra alphabetic letters peculiar to itself. It has forty-two letters in all. The extra letters are (the notation is empirical) :

(1) ٻ (B with two dots)—a soft *b* produced by the labial

junction on the inner edge of the lips as in ٻاوی (twenty-two).

(2) ڄ (J with two vertical dots)—a soft *J* prnduced by the tongue brushing the root of teeth as in : ڄاݨے تتی کوں کیندی پیاس ھے

(3) ڃ (with two horizontal dots)—Sound composite of J and N, as in ونڃ

(4) ڈ (D with a dot underneath)—Sound between ض and ڈ like Arabic ض as in ڈو (two).

(5) ڳ (G with upper of two bars looped)—Soft guttural sound as in گال (abuse).

(6) ڱ (G with lower of two bars looped)—Composite sound of soft G and N as in ڱاں (cow).

(7) ݨ (N with mark)—Composite sound of N and hard R as in سمݨ (to sleep).

The last sound *i. e.* ݨ is important as an ending of all verbs. The expressiveness of Multani is further increased by additional expressive forms of speech; for instance, there is a verb تھیوݨ in addition to ھووݨ . تیھوݨ signifies a completed act in immediate past while ھووݨ denotes things 'becoming' or 'being done' or 'having been done'. This distinction is covered in Urdu by auxiliary verbs or adverbial clauses.

The problems of this language arise out of neglect. There has been no attempt to collect, print and publish the various works that lie scattered about. There has been no attempt to compile its authoritative dictionary. Mr. O'Brien and Sir James Wilson compiled respectively a *Glossary of Multani Language*

and a *Dictionary of Multani* but they are sketchy attempts and while they deserve our ratitude their books need to be supplemented.

The other necessity is the compilation of its grammar. Sa'dullah Khan Mallezai of Multan is reported to have written one but it appears to be lost. Akhtar Waheed who died young made an attempt in this direction which was published but that too is preliminary.

The third problem is that of Script. Emerging from its Sanskrit period Multani came to be written in 'Nasakh' but since that was affiliated to Arabic, the Hindus began to write it in 'Landa' characters. About the end of 18th century of the Christian era 'Nastaliq' came to be adopted but it was not till 1898, when the Christian Mission published a translation of the Bible in Multani, that 'Nastaliq' asserted itself as the Multani script. The notation requires to be standardized and a type to be developed.

Origin of Shina Language

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Shina is the language spoken in Gilgit region and the surrounding area.

Shina belongs to the Dard group of languages which cover the hilly region situated towards the north of the plains of the Panjab. There are five members of the Dard group : Khwar—the language of Chitral, Kafir—the language of Kafiristan, Kohistani—the language of Indus Kohistan, Shina—the language of Gilgit region, and Kashmiri—the language spoken in Kashmir and the surrounding area. Out of these five languages Kohistani, Shina and Kashmiri form an internal smaller group. This only means that these three are nearer to one another as regards their stock of words, construction and mode of thought than the remaining two. Khwar and Kafir which are neighbours and their homeland covers the region beyond the watershed of mountains on the West of Gilgit region, are more closely related to one another than the remaining three.

We have got a large family of languages called the Aryan languages. One sub-family of this large family is spoken in Europe. The other sub-family is spoken in Asia. One of the groups in the Asian—Aryan languages is the Perso-Aryan group which is spoken in Persia. The other is the Indo-Aryan group which is spoken in India. The Dard group is in between the Perso-Aryan and Indo-Aryan groups in its stock of words

and phrases. It is a smaller group compared to the other two but possesses its own peculiarities.

Aryans entered India, horde after horde and tribe after tribe. This process started about 1500 B. C. and continued for about two centuries. They then spoke the Basic—Aryan language which was spoken by them on the shores of the Caspian sea, in their original home. Some of the Aryan tribes on their march chose to stay in Persia. Originally they spoke this Basic—Aryan language, which passed through transitional phases of Avesta, Pahlawi, Old Persian and after centuries of development has adopted the shape of Modern Persian. In India, after the settlement of Aryans in northern India, the Basic-Aryan language first adopted the shape of anti-Vedic language, somewhere between 1500—1200 B. C. which is different from the basic Aryan language but retains many features of the basic stock.

Change in language took place quickly in the plains of northern India, as this area was the field of activity of the invading tribes. Impact of the local population was also more pronounced in this part of India. The Indo-Aryan languages began to take shape in the provinces of India between 1200 and 1000 B.C.

The Prakrits—languages of the common people of Indo-Aryan group—Marathi, Gujrati, Sindhi, etc.—had taken a definite shape by about 600 B.C. The Prakrits of different provinces, adopted different words for an object or action from the Vedic language. Somehow it so happens that the Basic—Aryan has got many words to represent one object or action and there are so many shades of meaning. Inhabitants of different provinces of India : Rajisthan, Maharashter, Bengal etc., adopted words which were different from one another, from the Basic—Aryan language, according to their inclinations and local necessities. The Prakrits as spoken by the man in the street therefore became more and more divergent in their direction of development with the passage of time.

Learned men observed this confusion in their sacred language with concern. The Pandits shunned the language of the common

man, and the court nobles hated to speak in the tongue of the man in the street. They tried to speak in a learned manner, with as many classical words of Vedic language in it, as possible. They formed a general committee and selected words from the Prakrits which they believed were most suitable and powerful. Thus a new language was reconstructed by the pandits from the Prakrits in vogue in those days—about 600 B.C. This language was called Sanskrit (civilised). Sanskrit means civilisation. Grammar, words and sounds of Sanskrit were written out in their final form on paper between 600 and 500 B.C. Although many Sanskrit grammars had been written before this the great grammarian Panini gave it the final shape which it possesses to this day. Panini lived about 400 B.C. The grammar of Sanskrit language composed by him has become the standard for all times to come.

During the first period of the settlement of Aryans in India, 1500—1200 B.C., some of the Aryan tribes began to march upwards from Attock, along the banks of the river Indus. They spoke the Basic Aryan language. As they lived in the secluded Sind valley away from the active forces which produced linguistic change, they retained most of the original characteristics of the Basic-Aryan language. The language of this group of Aryans formed the basis of Shina language.

The homeland of Shina, the area which extends from Jalkot to Chilas, is called Shinaki. Its altitude is between 3,000 and 4,000 feet above sea level. Shinaki (pronounced Shenaakee) is still called the real home of the Shins (Aryans) (pronounced sheens) in Gilgit region. 'Sheen' means snow in Kashmiri. The Aryans due to their comparatively white colour were called 'sheen'.

From Shinaki the Aryans expended outwards and conquered the surrounding area in which Shina is spoken at present. It means the northern side of the watershed of Sind in Indus Kohistan, the valley of Astor river, valleys of its tributaries and the

tract upto Dras in south-east. In the north the Aryan shins went up along the Sind and then diverted their forces in the valley of Gilgit river and its tributaries. The shins subdued this area between 1200 and 1000, B.C. Here lived a race of Turanian stock called Pisachas. These military bands of fighting shins did not bring womenfolk with them. They married with the locals. Thus a new race came into existence called the Yashkuns, which represents a mixture of Shins and Pisachas.

A linguistic fight in the Gilgit region began to rage between the original Pisacha language of the local people and the then prevailing mother tongue of the invading Aryans. This language of the Aryans was the primary Vedic language, which had retained in it many words, phrases and grammatical peculiarities of the Basic—Aryan language. This fight went on for about 200 years, till the whole mass of humanity in this region had been homogenised by the social forces. During this period of impact of these two heterogeneous groups. Shina language came into existence.

The original inhabitants of the area were Turanian by blood called Pisachas. They spoke a Mangoloid language. In fact the whole of the Dard group area was then covered by Pisacha people. They spoke a peculiar language which is dead in Asia. The only representative of this Pisacha stock which has survived to this day is Broshishki language spoken in Hunza. The valley of Hunza is situated at a high altitude, and is surrounded on all sides by high mountains. There is no attraction for an invader. There have been few chances for a foreign language to enter this area. Broshishki, therefore, has retained some of the prominent features of the original Pisacha language. Asia has got no other representative of Pisacha stock, and Broshishki stands alone in its field. In Australia the aborigines speak some languages which are akin to Broshishki. Probably in those days there was a land or water contact with Australia.

Shina possesses many peculiar features. In fact all the Dard

languages possess these peculiarities. Some of the tenses, and grammatical forms agree with the Indo-Aryan group, and others agree with the Perso-Aryan group; while there are certain other grammatical features which do not agree with any of these two groups. These have been derived from the Pisacha language which was originally spoken in this area. These are also found in Broshishki of today.

Taking into consideration the stock of words most of these belong to Aryan origin, one-half belongs to the Perso-Aryan group and the other half to the Indo-Aryan group. Some of the words do not belong to any of these two groups. These have apparently been derived from the Broshishki stock of words.

When we consider the grammar, the sounds and the stock of words of the Dard languages, we find that they are a mixture of the linguistic qualities of Perso-Aryan and Indo-Aryan groups. It does not mean that they have borrowed these from the two groups separately. It means that Dard languages have derived these common features from the Basic-Aryan language, from which both the Perso-Aryan and Indo-Aryan groups have been built up. Pisacha language being the indigenous language of the soil, gave to Dard languages its sounds in general and some words.

The Dard group of languages is also called Pisacha Group of languages. These are called Dard, because these are spoken by Shin Dards who are Aryan by race and Dard languages are basically Aryan languages. In some books we find they are called Pisacha languages because they have got in them an element which represents the Pisacha linquistic characteristics. I would prefer to call them Dard languages because the characteristics of the Dard elements are more prominent and clear. These are basically Aryan languages and therefore we should not name them Pisacha.

When in Shina homeland, I asked many prominent people, about Dard race or where this group of people lives at present.

They always answered in the negative. The inhabitants of this area, do not call themselves Dards. They have got no mention of any race called Dard in their oral history, as they have got no written literature upto this time. I do not know how this group of people and languages came to be known as Dard, and who gave them this name in books to start with.

Outside the homeland of Shina, the languages which possess characteristics nearest to this language are modern Panjabi, Lahnda and Sindhi. Certain features were derived by all these languages from the original indigenous language which was current in the whole of this area before the advent of the Aryans. Particular features were selected by each language, and these became distinct from one another as centuries rolled on.

Here is a very important linguistic evidence which no other field of research provides. We come to the conclusion that the Pisacha race occupied the whole of the area which extends from Chitral and Gilgit to Hyderabad and Nawabshah, before the Aryans occupied this land. The Aryans when they invaded northern India horde after horde, did not meet and conquer the Dravidians or the Harappens who are called people of the Indus civilisation, but they fought with the Pisachas. This conclusion although provided by research in the field of language may lead to very important results in the field of history.

Language Problems in Certain Multilingual Societies

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I was born in Wales, where about a third of the population is bilingual in Welsh and English. My first teaching job overseas was in Czechoslovakia where, at that time, most people understood German, their mother-tongue being, of course, Czech or Slovak. I then worked for several years in Burma, where a quite remarkable variety of languages flourished. During the three years between my departure from Burma and my coming to Pakistan, I visited various countries, in three of which all educated people were bilingual or multilingual. I went to Luxembourg, where people seemed equally at home in Luxemburger, a rather Flemish dialect of German, German itself and French. In a trip to Africa, I visited Guinea and Tunisia. In Guinea all people with a secondary education spoke at least one West African language and had a magnificent command of French. In Tunisia the same magnificent command of French was matched by a striking devotion to Arabic literature and culture.

In Pakistan I find myself again in a multilingual society, but I do not propose to address myself to any of your language problems, or to any of the cultural and communicative problems that arise from the diversity of languages current in your country. So many people here can speak on these matters from far greater knowledge and insight than I possess. However, I trust that a discussion of some of the language problems of other multilingual societies may be of some interest and relevance to those of us whose first concern is with language problems in Pakistan.

In my own country, Wales, the first problem is the preservation of the Welsh language. What is the point—you may ask—of preserving this language? Nowadays every speaker of Welsh can also speak English so why should we desire the survival of a language which, for all practical purposes, could be dispensed with tomorrow? The frank answer is that it is a matter of sentiment—and very healthy sentiment in my opinion. Surely it is good to cherish, in a world of increasing uniformity, rich and colourful diversities in local cultures. Britain would be a less attractive country if the Welsh, the Scots and the Irish were to lose their national identities. Now in this matter of national sentiment—and it is national sentiment which preserves national identity—language is not everything. The Scots have a very strong national sentiment although they have almost lost their old language, Gaelic, English having been the language of Lowland Scotland for many centuries. But Scotland is far more remote than Wales from the main centres of population in England. Moreover its full political union with England took place less than three hundred years ago. Much of its law is still different from that of England and Wales. Its educational system differs in a number of important features. Wales, on the other hand, has been fully united to England for more than five hundred years. It shares the same laws and the same structure of education. Moreover it is a much smaller country than Scotland and lies much closer to London and the great industrial areas of England. If Wales lost Welsh, and the culture and institutions which go with the language, its national identity would be grievously diminished.

The threat to Welsh comes mainly, as it has done for more than a hundred years, from the movement of population. The areas where Welsh predominates as the first language are essentially rural. With the increasing mechanisation of agriculture fewer and fewer workers are needed on farms. Many young people leave these areas for employment in the prospering industrial areas. Some move to South Wales but many leave to swell the

growing populations of the midlands and south-east England. In South Wales, where industry is concentrated, English already predominates and the influx of English workers into certain growing industries is fast increasing this predominance.

Nevertheless Welsh survives, in these unpromising circumstances, as by far the most vigorous and widely used of the Celtic languages. It is worth examining why it has survived so long and why it shows promise of surviving for several generations yet. The language would not have survived among people who can all speak English unless it had offered them things not to be had through English. It certainly would not have survived if it had not possessed its own rich and distinctive literature. Now literature depends upon literacy. A very small country will throw up few writers, and readers will be too few to support and encourage the production of books in the vernacular if most of its people are unable to read and write. Fortunately the Welsh people have been highly literate for a long time, from centuries before the introduction of universal and compulsory education.

From the sixteenth until the nineteenth century, religion was the driving force behind literacy in Wales. The Bible and the Prayer Book were translated into Welsh in the sixteenth century and from that time onwards various religious leaders fostered the teaching of reading so that men and women of all walks of life might be able to instruct themselves in their faith. The most remarkable drive for general literacy came early in the Eighteenth Century. A large number of schools for the children of the poor were founded by religious societies. More remarkable still was an organisation, established by a Welsh clergyman, which sent travelling schoolmasters, stopping three to six months at one place, all round the country to teach adults to read. It is estimated that over a third of the people of Wales received instruction from these circulating schools during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The work of these schools was

augmented by a peculiarly Welsh institution which survives, to some extent, to this day—the afternoon Sunday school for adults.

However, literacy and literature are not enough to keep the less important language alive in a bilingual society. Since everybody can speak English but only one person in three speaks Welsh, it is natural that English will be the language used to address strangers. Then it only needs one person ignorant of Welsh to join a group of people speaking Welsh to make the conversation switch into English. Welsh would soon die out of use in the more anglicised parts of Wales but for certain social institutions which hold firmly to the old language. In towns of any size most religious denominations have two churches, one conducting its services in Welsh and the other in English. Out of sentiment for the national language most bilingual church-goers will attend the Welsh church rather than the English church. Of the secular institutions perhaps the most important to favour Welsh is the National Eisteddfod, a great annual festival of competitions in music, literature and other arts, attended by tens of thousands, A recent rule has enforced the use of Welsh as the sole language throughout the proceedings. The Urdd Gobaith Cymru—the League of Welsh Youth—does a great deal to keep Welsh alive as a social language among young people.

Nearly all school-children in the state-aided schools of Wales learn Welsh. The normal practice is for Welsh to be taught as a second language from the age of nine in schools where English is the medium of instruction, just as English is taught from that age in the far smaller number of schools—mostly in North Wales—where Welsh is the medium of instruction.

To language teachers there is a very interesting contrast between Wales and England. In England the learning of foreign and classical languages is almost entirely confined to the more academically gifted children of the kind selected for education in the secondary grammar school. In Wales almost all children, from the dullest to the brightest, have to learn a second language.

The result is that the more effective modern techniques of language teaching have spread far more rapidly in the schools of Wales than in the schools of England. The old-fashioned grammar-translation method, if backed with some elementary phonetics, is a possible, though inefficient, way of teaching a language to the more intelligent pupil. Experience in Wales shows that the results of this method are hopelessly bad with the average or backward nine-year-old. An oral approach—well graded—and the banishment of translation and pseudo-classical grammar are standard features of Welsh teaching in primary schools today. Excellent guidance to teachers on the teaching of Welsh has come from the Ministry of Education.

The B.B.C. has served the Welsh language handsomely over recent years. Excellent courses in Welsh for adults have been given on sound radio and the sales of the accompanying booklets demonstrate that they have been followed by many people. Considering that Welsh is the language of a small minority, the B.B.C. is generous in the time it allots to Welsh programmes in both sound and television broadcasting.

Before I turn to other countries, I should like to point out that the loyalty of the Welsh to their own language and traditions in no way conflicts with their larger loyalty to Britain. We have been comrades in arms with the English from the battle of Agincourt onwards. We have given them a dynasty of kings and, more recently, a prime minister.

In Wales we have a country which has preserved a language for emotional reasons. When I went to Czechoslovakia in 1948 I found myself in a country which had just discarded a language—and a very useful language—for emotional reasons. Until 1918 Czechoslovakia had been part of the Austro-Hungarian empire, in which the predominant language was German. From 1918 to 1945 about a fifth of its population was German or Austrian. From 1939 to 1945 the country was occupied and ruled by Hitler's Germany. After the defeat of Germany, Czechoslovakia expelled

its entire German and Austrian population, ceased the teaching of German and ceased using the language. Many foreign visitors to Czechoslovakia after the war knew German and did not know Czech, but when they tried to communicate in German the almost invariable reaction from a Czech was hostility and a pretence that he did not understand the language.

The schools immediately replaced the teaching of German with the teaching of other foreign languages, usually English and Russian. Some of the teachers I knew had to change themselves overnight from teachers of German to teachers of English and some of them knew so little English when the change was made that the best they could do at first was to keep themselves one lesson ahead of their pupils. Yet when I began to teach English in Czechoslovakia I was amazed at the efficiency with which most of my pupils had been taught English during the three years since the end of the war. None of my younger pupils, except the few who had spent the war years outside the country, had been learning English for more than three years yet may of them were able to do really advanced work in language and literature. They spoke English fluently and well at social functions in our British Institutes. We provided evening classes for the Cambridge Proficiency Examination and a year's course of four periods a week was enough to get most of them through this quite exacting examination. Sheer hard work was largely responsible for their success. Nearly all my students at the Institute had full-time jobs and could study English only in their spare time. Yet they managed to get through the heavy amount of written work and reading we imposed on them. Most important of all, they were willing to read and to read widely. Nobody ever learned a foreign language from a meagre handful of prescribed texts. All my best Czech students were keenly interested in their own literature and interest in, for example, modern Czech drama would often lead a student who had been learning English for only a year or two in his spare time to set about reading modern English plays and

dramatic criticism. It was most noticable that the students who did best were those whose borrowings were heaviest from our Institute library.

There were two things that my Czech students taught me as a young teacher. The first was that a lively and intelligent interest in one's native language and literature is of the greatest possible support to the study of a foreign language and literature. The second is that a library is as indispensable as a teacher.

Looking back on my time in Czechoslovakia two further things strike me. The Czechs had never had, as far as I could gather, inhibitions about using their own language—although they were so small a nation—as a medium of instruction in all subjects at all levels. Like the English they had readily taken from other languages what new vocabulary was needed. But they were fully aware that Czech was not enough. Every educated person was expected to be really proficient in at least one other language.

A visit to Luxembourg in 1957 gave me a glimpse of the most remarkable language situation that I have seen in any European country. Young children began their education in their mother-tongue, Luxemburger. Early in the primary school they started to learn German which became the medium of instruction in the later years of the primary school. At the same time as they turned to German, they began to learn French, which was the official language of the country. In the secondary school, French became the medium of instruction and yet another foreign language, usually English, was introduced into the timetable.

Luxembourg is, of course, a very small country, no bigger than a fair-sized English county, and it has on its borders Germany, France and Belgium. Consequently its inhabitants are in constant contact with native speakers of French and German. Even so, the complete trilingualism of the well-educated citizen is impressive. Moreover the teaching of English must be very efficient, for I found that a large proportion of the people I met spoke English really well. I went to Luxembourg to conduct a course for

teachers of English and I have rarely met a set of teachers with a better grasp of English language and literature or with sounder views on teaching methods. Once again it was brought home to me how much depends upon reading. I thought it highly significant that this small country, which has mastered its linguistic problems so completely, had one of the finest bookshops that I have ever seen, and that a teacher whose home I visited had a truly magnificent personal library.

I shall not say very much about the years I spent in Burma, for the language problems I observed there were largely similar to the ones we are familiar with in Pakistan. They were more complex in that Burma has a remarkably large variety of indigenous languages and there are large communities whose first language is Chinese or one of the languages of the sub-continent. One of the great assets of the language teacher in Burma is the high degree of literacy among the Burmese themselves. For centuries the Buddhist monasteries have given free elementary schooling to boys and girls. This general literacy, and the association of learning with religion, may explain the affectionate respect in which teachers are held by Burmans of all walks of life.

A visit to Guinea in 1960 gave me my first experience of a country whose administration and secondary education relied entirely upon a foreign language imported from another continent. At least three African languages are spoken in Guinea but French is the *lingua franca*, just as English is the *lingua franca* in many other parts of Africa. Academic standards seemed to have suffered not at all from this dependence on an imported language as a medium of instruction. Guinea, although utterly independent of France politically, still entered its secondary-school pupils for the French baccalaureat examinations and, in the year previous to my visit, the proportion of successful candidates was within two per cent of the proportion for metropolitan France.

Impressed as I was by the high educational standards of Guinea, I could not help regretting that the traditional culture

of the country was reflected scarcely at all in the work of the schools that I visited. In Tunisia the situation was very different. In all too brief a visit, I formed the impression that the Tunisians had struck an admirable balance between French and Arabic culture. Government policy was that secondary and higher education should be bilingual. In the many secondary schools I visited in Tunis, I never found an "Arabic-Medium" or a "French-Medium" school. French was the language of instruction for some subjects and Arabic for others, the two languages enjoying parity of esteem within each school.

In Tunisia, as in Guinea, English had been given an important place in the secondary-school curriculum. It was taught largely—by no means entirely—by French nationals These French teachers of English, particularly the younger ones, were wonderfully capable and I marvelled at the striking improvement in their teaching of foreign languages that the French have achieved in recent years. Their young teachers of English are very well trained in classroom techniques and they have a really accurate, confident command of English. I cannot lose this opportunity of remarking that our modern techniques of language teaching are quite inoperable by teachers who have a faulty or faltering command of the language they are supposed to be teaching. Teacher-training establishments should, in my opinion, be responsible for ensuring that future language-teachers have an adequate command of any language they are going to be licensed to teach. It is a deplorable waste of pupils' time and public money to allow people to teach a language that they do not really know.

I visited all the leading secondary schools and colleges of higher education in the city of Tunis. They were excellent. I found good buildings, good equipment and good teaching wherever I went. The Minister of Education insisted that I should fit into my crowded programme a visit to the National Library. This enormous library was one of the most attractive libraries I have seen anywhere in the world. It catered most imaginatively for the

needs of every type of reader, from the research scholar to the secondary-school pupil. There was a special section for teachers and another section for students of English. There were excellent arrangements to guide the inexperienced user to the books he wanted and very attractive rooms and courtyards where he could sit down and work with his books. It was no coincidence that a country with such fine schools and such a capable way of handling its language problems should have a fine library. Enlightened teaching and the enlightened use of books invariably go hand in hand.

Perhaps I may add, in closing, one or two further generalisations. I believe that a language in the situation of Welsh in Britain or, say, Mon in Burma depends for its survival on the strength of the culture it enshrines *and* upon practical measures to foster its teaching and use. I also hold that the world will be less rich if the languages and literatures of small groups of people are allowed to fade into oblivion. Just think what civilization would have lost if Greek had been extinguished under the Roman Empire. As the great literatures of Rome and Britain demonstrate, a national literature is strengthened by contacts with other languages and literatures. Can one conceive what English literature would be like without the levies it has made on Greece, Rome, France and Italy? At the same time, a healthy national culture will always have firm roots in its own native soil. Moreover, my experience as a teacher of language and literature leads me to suspect that a sensitive and full understanding of a foreign language and culture is unlikely to be achieved by a person who is insensitive to his native language and culture.

Certain general features stand out when I look back upon the countries I have visited. In all of them English is taught at the secondary level, because in a world of scientific and technical revolution it is by far the most useful language for gathering scientific and technical knowledge. All the countries in which

more than one language was spoken had found it necessary to promote the general use of one particular language but this was not at all incompatible with the survival of regional languages. In the countries which had dealt effectively with their language problems there were good schools, good bookshops and good libraries.

Language and Social Work

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I want to say in the beginning that I can speak more than one language of this country but I am deliberately addressing you in a language which to an average Pakistani is a second language and which I believe touches him more in the head and not in the heart. This is only to emphasise at the outset that social work cannot succeed unless the language of the worker touches the heart of the individual and the group that is in need of help.

We are all aware that special language or special vocabulary—in all its complexities—is required for different occasions in life. This includes the choice of words, expressions, tone, tempo, pitch, timbre, modulation and volume etc. A general inspiring his army to kill the enemy will use a totally different language from a Buddhist who is pleading that all killing is inhuman. A politician urging a group to action will use a completely different vocabulary from that of a priest preaching complete resignation, and endurance. The well-known jargons of an administrator, an educationist, a scientist, a community developer, are all distinct in feel, taste and sound. The words of love and anger are known to all of us present here. How often we have heard one saying in desperation : "I wish I had the words!" Perhaps the Linguistic Research Group can provide an exhaustive compilation known as : "Right Words for All Occasions."

In this Seminar, scholarly papers on various aspects of language and linguistic problems have been read and will be read. I would only touch on the role of language scholars in determining suitable vocabulary for effective social work. Let us first see what are the conditions which make social work programmes

imperative in this country. The conditions prevailing in our country are known to every person of average intelligence and information. They are : lack of education, lack of recreational facilities resulting in ignorance, boredom and despondency. It is not possible to provide adequate educational facilities due to our meagre economic resources. Consequently, written word for any educational or development programmes is useless, Nor can technical facilities, such as, films, television, mobile visual-aid units, be provided to overcome problems arising out of illiteracy. These conditions make word of mouth the only medium or language the only form of communication between a worker and the group. The object of such communication in social work is not to produce some physical or tangible achievements but to develop human resources by encouraging people, by inspiring them, by touching their emotions so that they are goaded into action which leads to self-improvement. It is obvious that a very carefully chosen language is the first pre-requisite for such an objective. It is not *what* is communicated to an individual or a group but *how* it is communicated. Cases have been known of people who have been social workers and anthropologists who in order to gain an insight into the feelings of communities have spent years living with those communities in order to become acquainted with their language, and particularly with the words that they use. In order to learn how to use words and what values are attached to some of these expressions they have spent a long time. It is also necessary to know the expressions which in the minds of those people who have to be encouraged and inspired denote respect for their personalities, recognition of their basic human rights, and acceptance of the fact that they are no less than other human beings who may be financially at a superior social position.

I have personally known people who have welcomed social workers for no other reason except that they have used respectful language for the first time for the under-privileged people. I have

also known communities where acceptance of a sociologist, or a social worker or a teacher has been determined largely by the expressions or words that he has used for those persons. I have also known dozens of cases in which a sincere, devoted social worker has been thrown out by the community because of the language he or she has used. That language is a tremendous force in changing the lives of communities and nations is no longer disputed and it is difficult to single out one aspect out of the totality of the problem of language, such as merely simplifying language, or using a particular expression. I think, for social work it is complete language in its totality that is to be considered.

In connection with social work and language, let me state a few hypotheses which language scholars or linguistic experts can consider at appropriate occasions :

1. For social work, it is absolutely essential that the language of that particular region, or of that zone, or the particular cultural group is utilised, otherwise social work cannot succeed. This, I believe, is necessary because use of a different language will not only antagonise people and make it impossible for new concepts to be communicated to them but also in another language, that is, except the one in which the community has grown, no other language can effectively represent the values of the community.

Second thing is that language can inspire or emotionally work up people only when it is their own language that is used. No social worker can effectively identify himself with the people unless he speaks to them in their own words. I am sure, no examples are needed for this for we all know the effect of words in our own language when we are in a foreign country. I have known a group of women completely indifferent to the efforts of a social worker in this part of the country who after six months still found that she was completely unsuccessful until one day unconsciously she began talking to another companion in the

language of the group whom she was expected to serve. Immediately one of the women in the group exclaimed : "She speaks like us ! " and immediately after that the barrier between that social worker and the group was removed.

2. I also believe that no training for social work can be effective unless it is given in the language in which the social worker is actually going to communicate with the people whom he is going to serve. As long as words in the books utilised in training are foreign, the conflict in the mind of the worker will continue and his efforts to reduce them in the language of the people will be only partially successful. I have known social workers go out to address large gatherings, and use words which are completely foreign to them. These words are like : *Programme planning, community chest, variety programme, community development, organising a workshop.* All these words give the community a feeling that they are called upon to take up a temporary assignment for some kind of a foreign organisation and it does not become a part of their lives.

3. I also feel that writers of regional languages should be encouraged by social welfare organisations, by Government, and fully supported by a Research Group such as this, to write in regional languages songs, plays, skits, stories etc. which can be effectively utilised by social workers in their day-to-day programmes. Only then can a social worker reach the heart of a particular community, give it some hope, and put it on its feet to the road towards progress and change. And perhaps then the communties will become self-reliant and emerge as stable communities.

Again my question is : "What is the role of a group, such as the Linguistic Reseorch Group of Pakistan, in supporting or analysing some of these principles? What is its role in creating conditions under which such accepted and well-known principles can be scientifically put forth and actually imple-

mented? What is its role in producing and compiling literature in the appropriate language with the appropriate words?"

I feel that this Group can have a two-fold function in this area :

1. First of all, it can evolve general language principles for a social worker. These would include do's and don'ts as far as general speaking is concerned. This might give the social worker a set of principles indicating that such a type of language will be more effective. These may be based on the principles of respect, simplicity, brevity, directness and speaking in a pleasant tone.

2. We are all familiar with the story of the blind man who was addressed by the Slave, the Chief Minister and the King and it was only from the words of address that the blind man judged who was who. I have personally known two cases in which a social worker was loved by the community and the programme that he was carrying out was a success. I questioned the community as to why they wanted the programme to continue and why they appreciated it. The only reply that I received was : "For the first time we have been addressed with respect." In the second case a very able, genuine social worker was a complete failure. I could get no response from the community to my questions regarding their lack of interest and participation in the programme. It was in sheer desperation one day that a woman remarked in her own language : "I am sick of being told what I know already. Everyday I hear you are dirty, you are ignorant, you are unclean, you do not know modern methods and you cannot help yourself." This is what that particular social worker said day after day to those people and tried to get their interest and participation in the programmes. It was perhaps what she knew already but the insult was through the language which was hurled at her everyday. I have known a meeting where a group was just beginning to participate in a discussion when the leader of the group, a very keen social worker, gave a

long-winded explanation of 'co-ordination' in such complicated terms that one person jumped up and in most a irritated tone gave a very simple explanation for the concept of co-ordination. This was in Panjabi. He said : جی سدی طراں کیوں نیئں کہندے تال میل
And that was it. Is it a function of the Linguistic Research Group to prepare a dictionary of such terms, phrases etc. which can be used by the social worker?

The second field in which I feel that this Group could undertake suitable research is the special force of regional languages in social work. Much has been said on the desirability or otherwise of permitting regional languages to flourish. Controversy in this country is based on several factors, and these factors are political, sometimes certainly for national integration and also on principles of expediency. No one denies that they have a very predominant place in the society but no social worker can dream of educating a community except in the mother-language. Can you ever think of a mother bringing up her child physically, mentally, morally healthy except in her own language? I think the deep emotional values of the lullabys which all mothers sing to their children can only be given to the child in the tongue of the mother. Even the educational and recreational programmes for a particular group can only be organised in the regional language and as I said earlier, folk songs, tales, dramas etc. can only be taught and effectively made to produce the desired results in the language of that particular region. I also feel that no adult literacy programme can hope to succeed unless it is given to them through their own language. The LRGP would make a contribution if it makes a survey of the effectiveness of social work in relation to the use of language in this country in various regions.

3. I also believe that the first teaching of a child should be in his mother-tongue and this has been accepted as a principle by educationists of all times and countries. Once again, let me emphasise that this does not come into conflict with the universally

acepted notion that there should be one national language. It is an over-simplification to say that one language will solve all problems of the country, and that it will lessen the burden on the child. This is, I think, deliberately shutting one's eyes to the burdens which will be created by a conflict in the home where the child goes speaking another language but the child's mother and father speak another language or the burden of trying to teach values and concepts in a different language whereas at home the same values are taught or communicated to him again in a different language, of the burden of not being able to say effectively what he wants to say or as effectively as his mother can say. And I think it is yet to be proved that a child finds it difficult to learn more than one language. I believe that children can learn more than one language very easily. We have all known children who have learnt two or three languages without any difficulty. The only question is of making the teaching of both the national language and the regional language simple and scientific so that whereas the child learns the national language both as a matter of duty and as a matter of need, as a matter of pride also, he is equally at ease in his own mother-tongue or in the regional language which is a part of his culture.

The Common Structural Basis of Urdu and Panjabi

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In submitting to you this short note on the common structural basis of Urdu and Panjabi, my aim is to emphasise that linguistic studies should be directed to bring out the inherent unity of various speech forms in Pakistan. Ours is a developing country which has yet to achieve a sense of national cohesion. It is, therefore, necessary that scientific techniques be as purposefully applied to the study of language as to other departments of nation-building activity. While I deliberately restrict myself to the smaller field of a comparative study in only a part of Pakistan, I hope I am at once understood to imply that it is equally desirable to extend the scope of this kind of study to other regions in both West and East Pakistan.

Among the many good and wise observations in the *Report of the Commission on National Education* is one, in the chapter on the teaching of languages, made with reference to what the Commission aptly describes as "an inherent and basic linguistic unity throughout West Pakistan." The Commission plans to build on this basic unity, and, by making full use of "the assimilative powers of Urdu," seeks ultimately to develop Urdu in such a way that it may function as the "basic and representative language for the whole of West Pakistan". Now this already prevalent unity of language in West Pakistan is, in spite of the diversity of its several regional forms, compounded everywhere of two common elements : the

ancient native substratum of Indo-Aryan origin, and the neo-cultural superstructure of Arabic and Persian. An analysis of this latter element will reveal a surprising degree of homogenity among the regional languages and Urdu. It will be obvious that the semblance of inter-regional diversity is introduced by the element native to the soil of Baluchi, Sindhi, Pashto and Panjabi. Urdu, which has journeyed widely almost throughout the sub-continent, has the advantage of a more comprehensive lexical pattern, but even so it must be admitted that the divergences between Urdu and the regional languages of West Pakistan are of Indo-Aryan rather than of Perso-Arabic origin. It is, therefore, the "Indian" half, and not the "Muslim" half, which is in fact the differentia of each of our regional languages, as also of Urdu.

Talking of the relationship between Urdu and Panjabi, it may be borne in mind that these two are not distinct languages in the sense that French and German are. In the case of French and German, there is a certain frontier line at which the one suddenly ceases and the other as suddenly begins. Panjabi and Urdu have never been thus separated in terms of a geographical line. Right from Rawalpindi in Pakistan to Ambala in India, we have district after district using one dialect of Panjabi or the other. As we go south-east, a series of minute lingual variations and new local fusions gradually unveil the features of the other language. Thus, it is a continuous process of dialectal change, not a sudden or violent break, which converts the Panjabi of Ambala into the Urdu of Saharanpur and Delhi. These gradations and transitions are at the root of the common structural basis of Urdu and Panjabi.

The community of structure between the two languages is obvious in both simple and complex sentences. The subject and object are juxtaposed, and always precede the verb. So does the adverbial clause. The preposition occupies an identical position in the structures of both languages. The parallelism is so close

that with the mere substitution of lexical variations—wherever they occur—you conveniently pass from one language to the other. Apart from the similar syntax, there are other types of behaviour common to both languages. There is, for instance, a widespread use in both languages of a special pattern of repetition to create doublets which express new shades of meaning. These doublets are formed by repeating various parts of speech, *e.g.*, adjectives (ٹھنڈا ٹھنڈا - گرم گرم), verbs (کھا کھا کے - پی پی کے) and adverbs (ہولی ہولی - پیچھے پیچھے). The point to note here is that in both Urdu and Panjabi the process is made to convey exactly the same patterns of meaning.

The phenomenon has recently been the subject of a research thesis submitted to London University by Mr. Iftikhar Ahmad of Chiniot. I have been privileged to see Mr. Iftikhar Ahmad's unpublished thesis in which he designates this process as 'reduplication.' What is of significance to the present argument is Mr. Iftikhar Ahmad's judgment on the identity between Urdu and Panjabi with regard to this particular linguistic phenomenon. He says : "There is close resemblance between Panjabi and Urdu...as far as the syntactic behaviour of reduplicates is concerned. In both languages reduplicates seem to be classifiable in a very similar way on the basis of similar sets of contrasts that operate in the two languages".

In this context I would add that a grammatical study of the rules governing Tense, Gender and Number in the two languages would reveal a remarkable degree of similarity. In the case of inflexions relating to Number and Gender, it will be found that Urdu dropped some of them only during the last century. Similarly, one may observe that the stock of idiomatic phrases common to the two languages is strikingly large. This is an absorbing study which deserves the attention of competent scholars.

In a comparative linguistic study of Urdu and Panjabi, a survey of historical contacts between the two languages may be at once pertinent and interesting. A group of philologists, led

by Hafiz Mahmud Shirani, would have it that Urdu originated in the Sindhi and Panjabi speaking areas of Pakistan. Sayyid Hashimi has quoted from *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, a fourteenth-century popular quip coined by the people of Thatta after they had seen Mohammad Tughlak die and Firuz Tughlak repulsed in his attempt to take their city. This favourite quip of the populace of Thatta ran as follows :

'برکت شیخ پٹھا، اک مؤا، اک نٹھا'. Pandit Dattatarya Kaifi goes even further and shows that the lexical content of Waris Shah is in essence the same as that of early nineteenth-century Urdu. He quotes a long list of common words from *Hir* : گنی ، جگ ، سبنھے ، دھنڈڑے ، سنج ، ھتھو ھتھ ، جیبھ ، گبھرو ، پروھنا ، بھتا ، مہنہ ، جتیاں ، ڈنگر ، لہولہان ، مشٹنڈا. Such a list could, of course, be multiplied a thousand-fold. There is, however, another school of philologists, represented by Sir George Grierson, Dr. Masud Husain Khan and others, who maintain that Urdu and Panjabi are in their origin different languages. Whatever may be the correct historical position, the fact remains that Old Urdu reads surprisingly like Panjabi. As late as the eighteenth century, Wali could write :

کیتا ھوں ترے نانؤ کو میں ورد زباں کا
جس گرد اپر پانؤ رکھیں تیرے رسولاں

And Sauda could say :

وے صورتیں الہی کس ملک بستیاں ھیں
اب دیکھنے کو جن کے آنکھیں ترستیاں ھیں -

There were other inflexional forms (آوے، جاوے) common to Urdu and Panjabi, which Ghalib used. Urdu has dropped them since Ghalib's day, while Panjabi retains them. Finally, it may be remembered that it is after a very long interval that contacts between Urdu and Panjabi speech communities have revived. They came about during the last half-century or so. The consequences of this process are bound to be far-reaching for the two languages, not only in terms of lexical exchange, but also in terms of phonological and syntactical innovation.

A Proposal for Establishing Language Institutes in Pakistan

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There is hardly anything that I have to say except that Professor Dil would like me to tell you something about our work at the Pashto Academy of the University of Peshawar.

Since the establishment of the University of Peshawar in 1951, it has been the anxious desire of the authorities to find out the best way of reviving and developing the Pashto language, literature and culture to enable the Pashto-speaking areas to make specific contributions towards the enrichment of the national culture of Pakistan. With that object in view the University established the Pashto Academy which has a two-fold function of a research organisation and a teaching department of the University. The teaching department has not been really able to do much during the first five or six years of its life. It is only since last year that post-graduate classes in Pashto have been established and the first batch of post-graduate students will be taking their final examination in 1963 for the degree of Master of Arts in Pashto. With the National Commission on Education emphasizing on the role and study of languages in Pakistan, Pashto is going to be taught in schools and colleges and students are beginning to take keen interest in learning the language.

The Pashto Academy has been able to translate Khushal Khan Khattak's works into Urdu. The Central Government has been generous enough to help us in the project. We shall soon be pre-

senting to you the Urdu version of mystic poet Rahman Baba's *Diwan*. We have published the Pashto translation of Dr. Iqbal's *Zabur-e-Ajam*, *Javed Nama* and *Bang-e-Dara*. We have already rendered into Pashto Iqbal's *Lectures on Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. In presenting Dr. Iqbal's works to the Pashto-speaking people in Pakistan we have tried to contribute our share towards the enrichment of the national culture.

One thing of which I should be proud is the Pashto translation of the six volumes of Allama Shibli Nomani's *Seerat-un-Nabi*. The translation has been completed and I am now on the look out for some agency to help us in the printing and publishing of this monumental work. The Pashto version of *The Spirit of Islam* by Syed Amir Ali is in the press. Similarly, Dr. Muzaffaruddin's *The Sources of Religious Thought in Islam*, a small book which has contributed enormously towards the clarification of some of the doubts that are cast on Muslim scholars by European critics, will be ready soon.

I am not going to list the publications or the plans of the Pashto Academy. However, I must mention that about ten thousand Pashto proverbs have been collected and rendered into Urdu and English. We hope that it will be a good contribution to national literature and culture.

We have a big project of the production of a Trilingual Dictionary of Pashto, Urdu and English. Considering our resources and the time we have taken over it, this project is progressing satisfactorily. We have already compiled 'alif' which will be published in a year or so.

There is one project which should be of special significance for the Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan. We propose to establish an Institute of Central Asian Languages at the University of Peshawar. The idea is that Peshawar being at a very convenient point in the geographical and historical setting of Central Asia, and with the background of our close

contacts with these countries, we thought it would be appropriate for our University to take interest in the establishment of an organisation of this kind. I have been writing about it to the Government and various responsible authorities but the reaction was rather disappointing. Of late, however, some attention is being paid to this proposal. If this institute comes into being we propose to have arrangements for the teaching of Central Asian languages like Uzbuki, Turkamani, Balti, Burushuski, Tibetan, Russian, Chinese etc. beside undertaking area studies.

In this context, I venture to suggest, and I want to do it from this platform, that we should have a similar Institute for South East Asian Languages in Dacca, where Japanese, Indonesian, Burmese, Tagolog etc. should be taught. Karachi would be a very suitable place for the Institute of African and Middle Eastern Languages. Lahore may, perhaps, be a more suitable place for an Institute of European Languages.

I hope that the authorities of the Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan will please take note of my suggestions.

Remedial Work in English Pronunciation with Pashto-Speaking Post-Graduate Students

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In this paper I am going to report a padagogical experiment on a very limited scale. At the post-graduate department of English in my University it was felt that students preparing for the English M. A., many of whom would soon be teaching the language, should be helped to speak it well. As a result I was asked to do remedial work with them in groups of about ten students, each group meeting for one hour every week.

Now you will agree with me that there were two things very obviously unsatisfactory about this arrangement. In the first place, remedial teaching of this kind ought to be done at a much earlier stage. My students had been speaking English of various kinds for ten years and might well be expected to have their speech habits rather rigidly set. Secondly, one hour a week is by no means enough for students taking a very full course in literature with the speech work as an apparently extra burden. I was almost sure that they would not be devoting much time to the correction of their faults in English speech outside the one hour a week and I suspected that many of them would be attending even that period without much enthusiasm.

Under the circumstances my success depended very clearly on : (*a*) how far my own enthusiasm could prove infectious ; and (*b*) how efficiently I could evolve an instructional procedure that

would make for maximum economy of time and effort on the part of the students. As regards (*a*), I had enthusiasm in plenty and was able to turn myself into quite an agitator for good pronunciation, the "agitation" being carried on all the time by my colleagues as well as myself.

But what counted for a great deal was the fact that I taught these very students other parts of their M. A. course which were going to count in terms of their examination marks and which they took very seriously. Besides, they were a select group of young men and women in a department of about fifty, and my relations with them were very cordial. Finally, I think once the work started they began to enjoy the change it made from lectures on the main part of their syllabus. There was some slight difficulty about the male students being a bit shy of having their mistakes corrected in front of the girls, but this was easily overcome by putting men and women in separate groups.

In short, I had practically no difficulty in getting my young men and women together and receiving from them the traditional respect for the teacher and the thing taught. The other aspect of the problem, *viz.*, the actual imparting of instruction without putting too much strain on the students, involved a lot of hard work on my own part, and I propose to describe this in some detail in the rest of this paper.

To start with, I had to visualize very clearly the dangers of trying to improve the pronunciation of students whose speech habits had already been formed, and particularly making the attempt within limited time-allocation. It was obvious to me that there were several possible ways of failure even at the level of single sounds and the pronunciation of single words. In the first place, one might of course fail to make a student understand the difference between the sounds he has been producing and the ones he ought to produce. Even after he has understood the difference he might not find it easy to change old habits. In

practice, however, this proves to be the least of the dangers and if one can explain the differences clearly and in non-technical language, most M. A. students understand them and there is hardly anyone who will not make an effort to reform his pronunciation if he has faith in his teacher. The real danger begins after things have been explained and understood and practical exercises begun. At this stage, one or all of three things might happen to students devoting a very limited part of their time to the speech course : *viz.*, inaccurate approximation, over-correction and unstable pronunciation. And it is the business of the teacher to see that they either don't happen or, having happened, don't continue.

In the instructional procedure this involves at once, (*a*) maximum simplification of the problems before the student is confronted with them, and (*b*) the maximum possible rigour in enforcing the altered ways of sayings sounds and words. The process of simplification has largely to be performed by the teacher beforehand and entails great forethought and preparation. The rigorous enforcement of the simplified course (of drills and so on) necessitates a firmness of will and vigilance at the actual time of instruction.

Let me explain how these two principles worked in practice in my own case. As regards *simplification :* I decided to do all preliminary thinking alone and did not bother my students with such questions as regional variations in the pronunciation of native speakers of English, the justice or otherwise of taking one particular form of spoken English as the "received standard", the choice between British and American English, the phonemic and phonetic levels of language learning and so on. Instead of arguing out these questions in the presence of the students I argued them out with myself and carried only my couclusions to the first group of students. I simply suggested to them that they should follow the pronunciation of Daniel Jones's Pronuncing Dictionary and use it as their reference book. I only needed to add that this was the

form of English I tried to speak myself, that it had wide currency among cultured English men and women and was understood and considered respectable in all English-speaking countries, including Pakistan and the United States. I think the situation was accepted happily by all. Even an American student we had at that time thought it very reasonable, although I myself advised her to employ herself usefully in the seminar library instead of coming to the speech classes on the simple consideration that she spoke one brand of English as a native speaker and it would not be good for her to confuse herself by trying to learn another.

By accepting Daniel Jones's Dictionary as our standard we were also able to cut out all discussions (in which, I am, however, keenly interested myself) about which two or more sounds belong to the same phoneme. In fact, the words phones, phonemes, phonetic areas etc. were never mentioned. We talked simply of speech sounds and decided to maintain whatever distinctions are maintained by Daniel Jones. But I made one simplification even here : I decided to ignore the sounds which, according to Professor Jones and myself occur only as variants. This eliminated eleven sounds at once without any essential loss.

Then followed a simplification on the grand scale. I decided, as I believe any teacher working under the same conditions is bound to do, that while correcting individual speech sounds, I should not bother about the English sounds which were also present in Pashto or of which such close equivalents exist in Pashto that the very slight difference is not worth pointing out. This process of elimination had of course to be carried out with the two main branches of Pashto (conveniently described as the خه and شه Pashtos) in mind. Thus while for the شه Pakhtoon the vowels ɔ and ɔ: in *hot* and *saw* are familiar, the خه Pakhtoon has to learn (or correct) them as much as the Urdu or the Panjabi speaker.

After this elimination of sounds which are similar in English and Pashto, I was left with 19 English sounds—8 vowels (including

diphthongs) and 11 consonants—which I am putting into an Appendix. I must, in this connection, acknowledge my debt to Prof. Maulana Abdul Qadir and Dr. Anwarul Haq, both of the Pashto Academy, for the great help they rendered me in this clearing-process by repeatedly producing for me any Pashto sounds that I wanted to hear from a true Pakhtoon, as well as for letting me profit by their impressions about the comparative positions of English and Pashto sounds.

While there is no time to discuss particular entries in my Appendix, I might state one or two things which I learnt during my discussions at the Pashto Academy and confirmed from my experience later on. While the Pashto speakers like anybody else, has difficulty is producing certain sounds of English, he is fortunate in two ways : (*a*) he possesses most of the English diphthongs and seldom shows a tendency to turn them into simple vowels ; and (*b*) consonant-clusters dont's come to him as a stumbling block, as he has plenty of them in his own language*.

Having determined the nineteen sounds which from the Pastho speaker's point of view, are peculiar to English, the next step was to devise a useful practical formula to help the students to produce each one of these sounds correctly. I decided to use as little technical terminology as possible, to use both the recognized methods of teaching new sounds (that of relating each English sound to its nearest Pashto equivalant, and that of describing the actual apparatus of articulation), to bind myself rigidly to neither method, and to decide to use either the one or the other or both as I found them useful in relation to each sound. However, I kept one principle in mind : if a sound could be taught without making the student conscious of the vocal operations involved, I preferred not to make him conscious of them. In

*For a detailed chart of initial two-consonant and three-consonant clusters of Pashto, please see p. 16 of Herbert Penzl : *A Grammar of Pashto*, published by the American Council of Learned Societies, Washington D. C. 1955.

practice, this led me to teach most of the vowels by relating them to the nearest Pastho vowels or by placing them between two Pashto vowel sounds. But in the case of the consonants the description of the physical process of articulation came more useful. The reasons for this are obvious. In the case of vowels any instructions referring to the highest point of the tongue, or the words *high*, *low*, *back* or *front*, are not easily understood by the student, and it is often difficult for him to *feel* exactly what his tongue is doing. In the case of the consonants it is easier to explain exactly how the obstruction or audible friction is produced in the mouth for each sound. But even in the case of the consonants the other method—that of relating English sounds to the nearest Pashto sounds was never completely abandoned.

Having explained each of the nineteen sounds in terms of the nearest Pastho sounds, I had to drill the students in each sound. This is a crucial stage in one's work. The drills for all the sounds were prepared in advance and kept ready duplicated, but they were handed out one at a time as each sound was discussed. It was very important to go slow at this stage, so only one sound was discussed and practised each week. The drills were of the standard type consisting of words illustrating the sound in the context of other sounds, and ending up in sentences in which the sound occurred repeatedly. It was obvious from theory as well as from experiment with the first week's drill that the sentences offered greater difficulty in the articulation of the sound. Therefore, from the second round onwards no student was allowed to go on to the sentences until he had mastered the words. And all along during the administration of the drills was exercised that rigour in enforcing the sounds which I have already mentioned as one of my two cardinal principles. For if one moves a student from one drill to the next before he has fully mastered the first he is bound to fall into unstable pronunciation. In some cases I had to give extra time to individual students who needed more practice. In

any case, I think it very important not to spare a student until he has fully mastered a sound.

So far I have been talking as if teaching individual speech sounds was the whole of my task. But I have had to isolate this aspect of the course and to discuss it at length not only because it is the foundation of all good speech, but also because it best illustrates my two principles of maximum simplification and maximum rigour in enforcement.

In actual fact, however, all the other things that have to be done in a remedial course like this were done side by side with the correction of individual speech sounds. Of course the plan for dealing with them was very much easier to draw up. These other things were listed for the students in the first meeting in the following simple terms : (1) Correction of the pronunciation of individual words, (2) correction of accent or word-stress—also in relation to individual words, (3) sentence-stress, (4) grouping of words in continuous speech and the pauses between the word-groups , (5) variations of speed, emphasis and tone.

In subsequent meetings, along with the teaching of individual sounds, a little work was done under each head, on the principle of spaced learning. For the correction of the pronunciation of individual words and words-stress, there were two sources for obtaining the words to be discussed : the students were invited to bring their difficulties, and I myself listened for and noted down the words actually mispronounced by students during the week. This was preferred to following such a thing as a general service list or a pronouncing vocabulary, because a general service list is not necessarily a true record of the frequency of words in the speech of a particular group of students, nor does a pronouncing vocabulary published in England necessarily represent the difficulties of students in Pakistan. I do, however, intend to build up a pronouncing vocabulary of words commonly mispronounced by my own students and to get the correct pronunciation of these words

on a tape, so that they can practice saying them independently of a teacher. The other three problems were similarly tackled by using sentences from common conversational situations in the life of my own students. Each sentence was tackled separately and general principles of stress, speed, intonation, grouping and pausing discussed in relation to those sentences as each problem arose. The method mainly used was that of demonstration, that of making the student say the sentence after the teacher. What I think is confusing to our students is instructions particularly about intonation in terms of 'high' and 'low', 'rising' and 'falling'. The form of instruction which they follow more easily is 'Say this in the tone of a question—in a sarcastic tone, horrified tone etc.' This plus demonstration can, to my mind do more for students devoting only a little time to speech training every week than the other kind of instruction, although the *teache*r himself must be fully conscious of the 'high' and 'low' aspect if he wishes to apply correction effectively.*

This, in brief, was my solution of the problems of a teaching situation which was not entirely of my own choosing. Remedial work in pronunciation with younger groups of students could, of course, be done differently, but I hope it will be agreed that wherever it is done at a late stage and with a meagre time-allowance the practical principles described in this paper will be found useful.

*In an oral discussion my friend Sir Dermot Milman, who takes a group of students similar to mine, once told me that his students did very well with a 'high' and 'low' explanation plus a deminstration. But I suspect that his demonstration rather than his explanation was doing the trick.

[Our experience in the field confirms the soundness of Sir Dermot Milman's approach. Instructions like: "Say this in the tone of a question—in a sarcastic tone, horrified tone etc." are linguistically unsound and misleading. We suggest that all Pakistani universities should introduce a full compulsory paper in Linguistics in the syllabus for all Master of Arts degrees in languages, as well as in M. Ed and B. Ed programmes. Otherwise the teaching and learning of languages will continue to be uneconomical and ineffective—ED.]

APPENDIX

Listed below are the nineteen English sounds recognised by Daniel Jones's Pronouncing Dictionary with which the Pashto-speaking learner of English has difficulties of various kinds.

Some of these sounds, however, do exist in one of the two main branches of Pashto.

Consonants

p the nearest sound in Pashto is unaspirated.

t the nearest sound in Pashto is unaspirated.

k the nearest sound in Pashto is unaspirated.

l the dark *l* is unknown in Pashto, but the clear *l* offers no difficulty to Pashto-speakers.

v the Pashto speaker pronounces this bi-labially like *w*. The labio-dental quality of v has to be explained.

h the Pashto speaker tends to drop initial h's.

t the corresponding pastho sound is much laxer.

d the corresponding Pashto sound is much laxer.

θ the Pashto speaker substitutes a soft *t*.

D (as in <u>th</u>en) the Pashto speaker deviates slightly—if a teacher wants he can ignore the difference.

Z (as in plea<u>s</u>ure) known to شه Pakhtoons, but not to خه Pakhtoons.

Vowels

i Pashto speakers pronounce this rather like *i* : at the begining of words.

e Pashto-speakers pronounce this between *i* and *e*.

æ Pashto-speakers tend to pronounce this like the diphthong ei.

a: Easy for خه Pakhtoons ; difficult for شه Pakhtoons, who substitute ɔ or ɔ :

ɔ easy for شه Pakhtoon ; difficult for خه Pakhtoons, who substitute a :

ɔ: easy for شه Pakhtoons ; difficult for خه Pakhtoons who substitute a :

ə: the Pashto speaker produces various different versions perhaps the most difficult sound to correct.

Modern Persian Grammar

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The following observations are made in the light of the basic linguistic principle that language is constantly changing and while certain terms go out of use, others get into it. This paper deals only with changes that have taken place in the grammatical structure of Classical Persian. The unchanged features have been left untouched.

Persian grammarians classify parts of speech under three general heads of verbs (افعال), nouns (اسما) and particles (حروف).[1]

The relevant changes in verbs are discussed first.

The Past Conditional or Habitual ماضی تمنائی

The classical tense from the infinitive (مصدر) کردن will read as follows :

Singular

1.	کر دے	I would have done.
2.	کر دی	Thou would have done.
3.	کر دے	He would have done.

Plural

1.	(میکر دیم) کر دیمے	We would have done.
2.	(میکردید) کر دید ے	You would have done.
3.	(میکرد ند) کردندے	They would have done.

This tense is absolete in Colloquial Persian. The modern Iranian would give the 'majhul' (مجهول) vowels the "Ma'ruf"

(معروف) sound. The tense will now read exactly as the Past Imperfect (ماضی استمراری), *e.g.*

Singular

1.	میکردم	I would have done etc.
2.	میکردی	
3.	میکرد	

Plural

1.	میکردیم	We would have done etc.
2.	میکردید	
3.	میکردند	

'If he had gone' will be translated as اگر میرفت and not as اگر رفتے etc.

The particle is used to express repeated action, *e,g.*

هی میر قصید He kept on dancing.
هی میر قصد He keeps on dancing.

Again هی بهترمیشد will mean : He got better and better.

Future

'Khwastan' to wish, to desire, has for its Aorist (مضارع) خواهد This tense is not used in Modern Colloquial. Its place is taken by Present tense, *e.g.*[3]

کی تشریف میارید ؟ When will you come ?
فردا شمارا میبینم I shall see you tomorrow.

The old form is confined to literarary Persian.[4] خواهد also indicates certainty, *e.g.*

این وسیم خواهد بود This must be Waseem.

With regard to بودن it should be remembered, that بودم , بودی etc. would be used ordinarily for the Imperfect and the Past Conditional without the prefix می *e.g.*

اگر آنجا بودم If I were there.

The Auxilary verbs شدن , توانستن *and* داشتن

If the third person singular of the Present and Preterite (ماضی مطلق) tenses is used impersonally it means 'to be possible', *e.g.*

میشود	It is possible.
نمیشود	It is not possible.

It is followed either by the Subjunctive Present (مضارع) or by the shortened Infinitive (مصدر مرخم), *e.g.*

نمیشود که امشب بسینما برویم؟	Isn't it possible to go to pictures tonight?
نمیشود رفت	We can't go; or, it is not possible to go.

توانستن

The shortened Infinitive after the tenses of توانستن is not used in Modern Colloquial. Instead, the Aorist (or Subjunctive) is used after them[5], *e.g.*

نمی توانم که بنویسم	I cannot write.

In speech the conjunction که is generally dropped, *e.g.*

نمی توانم بنویسم	I cannot write.
میتوانید بیایید	You can come.

The Impersonal construction is also used in Modern Colloquial, *e.g.*

نمی توانست رفت	One could not go.
چگونه میتوان این کار را کرد	How is one to do this?

داشتن

The Aorist (or Subjunctive) of the simple verb دارم means 'I have', while the Present tense میدارم signifies 'I keep', *e.g.*

پول دارم	I have money.
پول میدارم	I keep charge of the money.

In Modern Persian the Perfect Subjunctive is generally used instead of the Present Subjunctive in order to distinguish the Subjunctive from the Indicative Mood (وجه اخباری). Instead of باید حوصله دارید, we have :

حوصله داشته باشید	You must have patience.

Thus we have the modern form of the Imperative داشته باش instead of دار , *e.g.*

حرفهایم را بخاطر داشته باش	Bear my words in mind.
این را داشته باش	Hold it.

The Imperfect of the simple verb داشتن, except in Conditional sentences, is rare in Modern Persian. It's place is taken by the Preterite,[6] *e.g.*

موقعیکه تهران بودم خیال داشتم که . . .	When I was in Teheran I would think . . . .

instead of . . . موقعیکه تهران بودم خیال میداشتم که

داشتن is also idiomatically used to express Continuous Past and Continuous Present. Its Imperfect is used with the Imperfect of the main verb ; its Present its used with the Present of the main verb, *e.g.*

Continuous Past

داشت آواز میخواند	He (She) was singing.
داشتم حرف میزدم	I was talking.

Continuous Present

دارند چای میخورند	They are taking tea.
دارد مینویسد	He is writing.

In some parts of Iran داشتن is also used in the sense 'to consider'[7]

این میز را خرید ه دارم	I consider this table as bought.
من آن مرغ را گرفته دارم	I consider that bird as good as caught.

دارد is also used impersonally to mean 'there is', *e.g.*

اشکالی ندارد	Never mind ; it doesn't matter, (Literally, there is no difficulty)
عیبی ندارد	Never mind; it doesn't matter.
ضیلی تماشا داشت	It was a wonderful sight.[8]

In colloquial Speech لازم داشتن means 'to need', *e.g.*

این کتاب را خیلی لازم دارم	I need this book badly.

***The Impersonal Verbs* بایستن *and* شایستن**

بالیتسن It is not only impersonal, but also defective. Only Infinitive, Past Participle, third person singular of the Aorist, Present, Imperfect and Preterite, besides the Future Participle or noun of possibility are used.

بالتیسن has been used in Haji Baba.

بعد سلام در دیوانخانه منتظر آمدن او بایستمی بود	I was appointed to meet him at court after the morning levee.[9]

This use however, is rare.

The classical ببایذ is obsolete. Unlike Classical Persian باید and بایست are not preceded by preposition را, *e.g.*

شما باید ساعت شش اینجار برسید	You should reach here at 6 o'clock.
او بایستی این کتاب را میخواند	He should have read this book.

Without a second verb, باید signifies 'to lack, to be requisite, needful,' and takes the dative of the person, *e.g.*

او را رحم باید	He lacks pity.
آن را که کرم باید درم نیست	Those who wish to give alms have no money.

In Colloguial Persian the Preterite بایست is sometime used with a present meaning, *e.g.*

بایست رفت	It is time to go.[10]
دیروز شما میبایست اینکار را کرده باشید	You should have done this job yesterday.
ببایست آمده باشید	You ought to have come.

It will be seen that میبایست is usually followed by the Perfect Subjunctive.[11] The Aorist may also be used,[12] *e.g.*

دیشب میبایست برای لاهور حرکت بکنم	Last night I should have left for Lahore.

باید , when it signifies 'must have,' is sometimes prefixed to the Future Perfect, *e.g.*

تا اینکه شما کراچی برسید او باید مراجعت کرده باشد	By the time you reach Karachi he will have returned.

شاید and باید

باید is less polite than شاید .

اینجا نباید نشست	You must not sit here. You are not to sit here.
اینجا نشاید نشست	You had better not sit here. It is not fitting for you to sit here.

Compound verbs

The Compound verbs are used in Persian primarily because the number of simple verbs is not enough. These are of different kinds :

(1) *Reductions of Primitive Verbs*

Many of these are simply the reduction of primitive verbs in combination with prefixes which no longer exist. A list of prefixes in their ancient and modern forms is given below :

Primitive Prefix		*Persian form of the Prefix*		*Examples*
A[14]—á O.P.[15]—á	(towards)	a,	آ	آوردن
A—aibi, aiwi O.P.—abi	(to, into)		اف	افگندن
A—uz O.P.—uz	(up)	zi	ز	زدودن
A—Paiti O.P.—Pati	(towards, to, near to)	paz pazh pai	پذ پژ پی	پذیرفتن پژمردن پیوستن
A—Pairi O.P.—Pari	(round, around)	par	پر	پروردن

Primitive Prefix		*Persian form of the Prefix*	*Examples*
A—Fra O.P.—Fra	(before)	far, fir فر	فرمودن
A—Ni O.P.—Ni	(law, down)	nu, nai ن	نوشتن نهادن
A—ham O.P.—ham	(together)	an ان	انداختن

(2) *Verbs with a Prefixed Preposition or Adverb*

These are of more recent date. The prepositions and adverbs which are employed in compound verbs are used in Modern Persian as independent particles. A few examples prevalent in Modern Persian are given below :

باز	باز رسیدن	To inspect.
باز	باز جستن	To investigate.
بر	بر رسیدن	To investigate, to inquire.
پش	پش رفتن	To progress.
جلو	جلو گرفتن	To prevent.
ور	ور رفتن	To fidget.
در	در آمدن	To come out.
فرا	فرا گرفتن	To learn, to overpower.[16]

(3) *Verbs in combination with nouns, adjectives and participles*

These nouns etc. may be Arabic or Persian. The compounds thus formed may be transitive or intransitive. The majority of such compounds are formed by combining verbs with Arabic *nomina verbi*, verbal adjectives. *nomina agentis, nomina patientis* and represent the Persian equivalents of Arabic verbal forms.[17] The simple verbs ordinarily used for making compounds are :

گرفتن , دادن , یافتن , شدن , گشتن , خوردن , زدن , داشتن , نمودن , کردن

Here are a few examples of compound verbs formed :

(*i*) With a simple verb and a noun :

چامه زدن — To bargain.
زمین خوردن — To fall down.
سر کشیدن — To drink to the dregs ; to revolt.
اسم گذاشتن — To name.

(*ii*) With a simple verb and an adjective :

جوش آمدن — To boil.
بلند کردن — To raise, to steal.

(*iii*) With a simple verb and a verbal noun :

وادار کردن — To oblige, to persuade.

(*iv*) By the present stem or some part of another verb and a simple verb :

گیر کردن — To be stuck up.
گیر آمدن — To be procured, obtained.

(*v*) By an Arabic noun, adjective or participle and a simple verb :

تهیه کردن — To provide.
صحبت کردن — To talk.
جریان داشتن — To continue.
حرف زدن — To talk.

There is a pronounced tendency to use compound verbs even where single verbs of pure Persian origin are available. Amongst these may be mentioned :

نگاه کردن	for	دیدن
گوش دادن	for	شنیدن
گاز گرفتن	for	گزیدن
میل داشتن	for	خواستن
ماچ کردن	for	بوسیدن
درست کردن	for	ساختن ، پختن ، دوختن
تکان خوردن	for	جنبیدن
کوشش کردن	for	کوشیدن

دوست داشتن	for	پسندیدن
بلند کردن	for	دزدیدن ، افراشتن
فکر کردن	for	اندیشیدن
یاد گرفتن	for	آموختن
خنده کردن	for	خندیدن
گریه کردن	for	نالیدن
قاطی کردن	for	آمیختن
آتش زدن	for	سوختن

Apart from Arabic grammatical influence the other possible cause seems to be the desire to produce more effective connotations with compound verbs. There is a psychological and historical justification for this, as the decorative and florid style has ruled over Persian prose for ages.

Causal Verbs افعال متعدی :

Only a few causal verbs are used in Modern Colloquial. Other verbs, and compound at that, are used instead. حالی کردن, for instance, will be preferred to فهمانیدن and یاد دادن will be preferred to آموزیدن which is obsolete.

The shortened form of the causal verb is preferred. Thus ترساندن and رساندن will be preferred to ترسانیدن and رسانیدن, *e.g.*

کتاب رابطبع رساند He got the book published.

Adverbial phrases

There are a few adverbs as understood in English. Their place in Persian is filled by certain words, mainly nouns, or by substantives with and without a preposition, or by phrases etc. Here are a few phrases :

هم : It is added to various nouns to give them a sense of plurality or continuity, *e.g.*

سر هم Contiguous, joining.

پشت هم In a row.

پشت سر هم	One behind the other ; continuously.
پهلو هم	Side by side.
روی هم	One on the top of another.
رو بهم رفته	On an average, on the whole.[19]
نه خیر , خیر	It is the polite form of 'no', *e.g.*
میایید یا خیر؟	Are you (or will you) be coming or not ?
چای میل دارید؟	Do you want tea ?
نه خیر، متشکرم	No, thank you.

اختیار دارید : It is again a polite form of affirmation or negation and is one of the most popular forms of expression in social discourse, *e.g.*

خیلی باهوش هستید	You are very intelligent.

The answer : متشکرم , اختیار دارید etc.

چه عرض کنم : An evasive reply to say yes or no.

چرا : It has a dual sense (1) why (as used in the Classical language), and (2) why not, of course, *e.g.*

آیا ترن در قزوین توقف میکند؟	Does the train stop at Qazwin?
چرا	Of course, it does.

گویا , مثل اینکه : Perhaps, as if, it seems, *e.g.*,

گویا ندیم بود	It seems it was Nadim.
مثل اینکه باران میاید	Perhaps it will rain.

دور دست : Far.[20]

رو برو : Opposite.

دانشکدهٔ حقوق رو بروی دبیر خانهٔ دانشگاه است	The Law College is situated opposite the University Office.

در نزدیکی : Near.

شمران در نزدیکی تهران است	Shimran is situated near Teheran.

برابر : Times.

e.g. ده برابر	Ten times.

عقب Behind در عقب ایستگاه — Behind the railway station.

دنبال Behind دنبالش کنید — Follow him.

عقب and دنبال are preferred to the Classical پس which is used in respect of time, *e.g.*

ازان بیعد ـ ازان پس — After that, afterwards.

خارج : Outside, *e.g.*

درتا بستان خارج میروم — I shall go out (or abroad)[12] in summer.

داخل : Inside.

داخل شهر : Inside the city.

پیش : Generally signifies position and association, *e.g.*

کتاب شما پیش من است — Your book is with me. (Lit. near me).

نزد من is rare. In Isfahan پهلوی generally takes the place of پیش .

توی : Inside, *e.g.*

رفت توی اطاق — He went into the room.

توی , however, cannot be used for large area, hence توی خیابان 'in the street', 'on the road,' but داخل کشور or در کشور 'in the country'.

در is also used with dates, *e.g.*

در عید نویل — In X'mas.

لای : Between, *e.g.*

تمبر را لای کتاب گذاشتم — I placed the stamp between the leaves of the book.

همه جا : Everywhere, *e.g.*

سیگار همه جا تهیه میشود — Cigarettes are available everywhere.

همه وقت : All the time, *e.g.*

همه وقت منتظر شما بودم — I waited for you all the time.

Adverbs of Quality, Manner, etc.

مجانی ـ رایگان : Free, gratis, *e.g.*

ورود رایگان (مجانی) است — The entry is free.

یکسره : One sided, *e.g.*

اوقات اداره یکسره است	The office hours are one-session only.

بیخود : To no purpose, without motive or cause, *e.g.*

بیخود حرف میزند	He talks aimlessly.

دست پاچه : In a flurry, *e.g.*

چرا دست پاچه میشوید ؟	Why are you excited ?

یواش : Slowly, *e.g.*

یواش یواش بروید	Go slowly.

مسلماً ـ محققاً : Definitely, *e.g.*

مسلماً شخص ورز یده است	He is definitely an experienced man.

واقعاً : In fact, indeed, *e.g.*

ایرانی ها واقعاً خون گرم هستند	The Iranians are truly warm-hearted people.

اصلاً : (1) Originally, (2) At all (with negative context), *e.g.*

قهوه اصلاً مال عرب است	The coffee is of Arabian origin.
اصلاً این کار را دوست ندارم	I don't like this work at all.

ابداً : At all (with negative context,) *e.g.*

ابداً او رانمی بینم	I shall never see him.

آنقدرها : That much, to that extent, *e.g.*

آنقدرها فعال هم نیست	He is not so very active.

Adverbs of time

الان : Now, *e.g.*

الان میایم	I am just coming.

بعدها : Later on, at a later period, *e.g.*

احزاب سیای بعدها درست شد	Political parties were formed later.

هم امروز ـ هم اکنون : Now, *e.g.*

این کلمه هم امروز در ایران متداول است	This word is current in Iran even today.

همین حالا : Just now, *e.g.*

کاغذ مهر آمیز شما هین حالا زیارت شد — I received your loving (sweet) letter just now.

صبح زود : Early in the morning, *e.g.*

صبح زود بلند میشوم — I get up early in the morning.

غروب : Afternoon (lit. sunset), *e.g.*

غروب خدمت میرسم — I shall see you in the afternoon.

تنگ غروب : Evening, dusk, *e.g.*

تنگ غروب بود که تهران وارد شدم — I reached Teheran at dusk.

ظهر : Midday.

نصف شب ـ نیمه شب : Midnight.

امروز ، امشب and امسال are originally این روز ، این شب and این سال .

شبانه روز : For a day and night.

Hencc شبانروزی Hostel, boarding house.

روز ها By day, *e.g.*

چرا روز ها را بیرون نمی روی — Why don't you go out in day time.[22]

از پیش : Previously, beforehand, *e.g.*

چرا از پیش درس خود را حاضر نکردید — Why didn't you prepare your lesson beforehand.

روز دیگر : The next day, *e.g.*

روز دیگر بیامدند — They came the next day.

فردای آنروز : The day next to the one mentioned earlier, *e.g.*

فردای آنروز عید بود — The next day was Eid.

تمام روز : All the day, *e.g.*

تمام روز گرفتار بودم — I was busy all the day.

یک روز درمیان : On alternate days, *e.g.*

یک روز درمیان اصلاح میکند — He shaves on alternate days.

سه روز به سه روز ـ هربه سه روز : Once in three days, *e.g.*

سه روز به سه روز سنیما میرود — He goes to pictures once in three days.

هفتهٔ دو دفعه : Twice a week, *e.g.*

خواندنی ها هفتهٔ دو دفعه منتشر میشود	The 'Khwandaniha' is published twice a week.

هفتگی : Weekly, *e.g.*

روشن فکر روز نامهٔ هفتگی است	The 'Raushan Fikr' is a weekly newspaper.

ماهیانه , سالیانه : Monthly and annually.[23]

چند وقت به چند وقت : How often, *e.g.*

چند وقت به چند وقت بشما گفته ام که باهم دعوی نکنید	How often have I told you not to quarrel with one other.

چندی بعد : A little after, *e.g.*

انیس چندی بعد وارد شد	Anis dropped in a little after.

چندی پیش : A little earlier, *e.g.*

چندی پیش اینجا بود	He was here a little while ago.

بلا فاصله : Immediately, without delay, *e.g.*

بلا فاصله حر فهایم را برید	He immediately interrupted my talk.

زود زود : At frequent intervals, *e.g.*

باید زود زود اینجا بیایید	You should come here very often.

عجالتهً ـ موقتاً : Temporarily, *e.g.*

موقتاً استخدام شده است	He has been engaged in servi ce temporarily.

گاهگاهی : Occasionally, *e.g.*

گاهگاهی همدیگر را میبینم	We meet each other occasionally.

بندرت : Rarely, *e.g.*

همچنین تصادفی خیلی بندرت اتفاق میافتد	Such an incident takes place very rarely.

بالا خره : Finally, at last, *e.g.*

بالاخره رسیدیم شیراز	At last we reached Shiraz.

مادامیکه : While, so long as, *e.g.*

مادامیکه خاموش بود کسی ندانست که چه کاره است	So long as he kept mum nobody knew his occupation.

بمجر دانیکه ـ بمحض اینکه : As soon as, *e.g.*

بمجرد اینکه حسن را دید از حال رفت	As soon as he saw Hasan, he swooned away.
بمحض اینکه افتاد پایش شکست	As soon as he fell, he broke his foot.

علاوه بر : In addition to, besides, *e.g.*

در دانشگاه تحصیل میکند علاوه بر دریک ادارهٔ بازرگانی نمیه روز کار میکند	He studies in the university and besides works in a firm on part-time basis.

Prepositions

The substantives which commonly replace the prepositions are nouns suggesting direction or position, *e.g.*

رو : (face) on, روی نیمکت	On the bench
پشت : (back) behind پشت پرده	Behind the screen.

سر : at, on, over, *e.g.*

سراین دعوی نکنید	Don't fight over it.
سر میز بنشست	He sat at the table.

پشت بام : On the roof.

Generally speaking عقب ، جلو ، روی ، توی and دنبال have replaced پیش ، بر ، در and پس respectively.

از also means across, *e.g.*

نکنید از رود خانه عبور کردند	They crossed the river.
خواهشمند است از سبزه عبور نکنید	Please don't cross the lawn.
از آنجا رد شدیم	We crossed over that place.[24]

بالا and پائین also mean ahead and behind, *e.g.*

برو بالا	Go ahead.
میدان فردوسی پائین است	The Firdausi Square is at the back.

بدون : Without, *e.g.*

بدون اجازه که نیامدید	I hope you didn't come without permission.

از : Used in the sense of possession has been replaced by مال , *e.g.*

این کتاب از جامی است	This book is by Jami
will be changed into	این کتاب مال جامی است

The Arabic الی sometimes replaces Persian تا , *e.g.*

از پنج الی بیست	From five to twenty.

همراه may be used ih place of با *e.g.*

کتاب راهمراه خود بیار	Bring the book alongwith you.

دم : Near, *e.g.*

دم در ایستاده بودم	I was standing near the door.

جلو : Before, in front of, *e.g.*

از جلو من برو	Get out of my way.

از جهت - به سبب : For, on account of, *e.g.*[25]

از جهت تاریکی راه نمیشود رفت	It is not possible to walk on account of darkness.

Frequently the preposition is omitted. This is particularly true of *e.g.* به

احمد رفت لاهور	Ahmad went to Lahore.
حامد منزل نیست	Hamid is not at home.
یادم آمد - خاطرم آمد - بخاطرم آمد - بیادم آمد -	It struck me, I was reminded.
ازش خوشم میاید - ازش بخوشم میاید	I like that.
دیر آمدیم - بدیر آمدیم	We came late.
جا افتادن - بجا افتادن	To be set, *e.g.*
استخوانش جا افتاد	His bone was set.
جا انداختن - بجا انداختن	To set, *e.g.*
شکسته بند استخوانش را جا انداخت	The bone-setter set his bone.
جا گزاشتن - بجا گزاشتن	To leave back, *e.g.*

متاسفاند جزوه را جا گذاشتم	I am sorry I left back the note book.
جا ماندن ـ بجا ماندن	To remain, *e.g.*
این بخشهای کتاب جا مانده است	These portions of the book have remained (survived).

را is not used in many cases where it would be used according to old rules. One instance of omission is in respect of باید and بایستی as explained earlier.

In some cases را is totally replaced by به *e.g.*

بکسی گفتن instead of کسی را گفتن
بکسی دادن instead of کسی را دادن

The addition of the suffix را , however, is essential when a definite noun is the direct object of the verb, *e.g.*

مداد رابمن داد	He gave the pencil to me.
مدادی بمن داد	He gave a pencil to me.
مداد بمن داد	Will also mean : He gave a pencil to me.

"In Colloquial Persian", according to Lambton, "a certain latitude prevails in the use of را ", *e.g.*

کدام کتاب را میخواهید	Which book do you want?
رفت کتابیرا بخرد	He went to buy a book."[26]

In this instance the idefinite ی gets the force of "a certain" through the use of را .

Other changes in respect of propositions have been discussed under "Adverbs and Adverbial pharases."

Conjunctions.

There are many simple and compound conjunctions in Persian, some of which have been already dealt with under 'Adverbs and Adverbial Phrases'. A few others which strike for their new connotations or constructions are mentioned below :

چنانچه	If, in case, *e.g.*
چنانچه آزاد هستید با ما بیاید	If you are free come along with us.

از بسکه : So long, so much......that, *e.g.*

از بسکه خارج بودم از شما دلتنگ شدم	I was abroad so long that I missed you.
از بسکه گردش کردم خسته شدم	I walked so much that I am feeling tired.

که : When. The subject of the temporal clause precedes که , *e.g.*

دانشکده که باز شود ایشان میایند	They will come when the college open.

The Pluperfect is generally used for Past and the Imperfect for Future, *e.g.*

کاشکی شما را دیده بودم ایکاش شما را دیده بودم	Would that I had met you.
ایکاش اینجا میامد	Would that he would come here.

The Aorist can also be used as an Optative Future, *e.g.*

ایکاش اینجا بیاید	Would that he would come here.

مبادا : The Perfect Subjunctive is used for Past and the Aorist for Present, *e.g.*

ترسیدم مبادا دعوی کرده باشند	I feared lest they had quarreled.
ترسم مبادا دعوی بکنند	I fear lest they may quarrel.

Pronouns

Personal

The Personal Pronouns are used only for emphasis, contrast or perspicuity, otherwise the verbal termination is sufficient to in dicate the person.

Emphasis

بشما گفتم	I told you.
من بشا گفتم	*I* told you.

Contrast

او فقیر استو شما ثروتمند	He is poor and you are rich.
حسن پولش گم شد	Hasan's money was lost.

The first person sing, is used after بنده *e.g.*

بنده عرض میکنم	I beg to say.[27]

Affixed Pronouns

In modern colloquial affixed pronouns are very popular. In classical Persian the plural affixed pronouns were not much used. But in modern Persian they are as frequently used as the single affixed pronouns.

If the noun ends in silent 'h' (های غیر ملفوظ) the 'izafat' in modern colloquial is often omitted, *e.g.*

خانه شان ـ خانهٔ شان	Their house.
کتابهاتان ـ کتابهایتان	Your books.

In classical Persian the 'izafat' is sometimes omitted in poetry, *e.g.*

بود خانها شان سراسر پلاس — ندارند در دل زیزدان هراس (فردوسی)
لب لعلی چو لاله در بستان — خنده شان چون بهار حورستان (نظامی)

The singular affixed pronouns in modern Persian are frequently affixed to simple prepositions, *e.g.*

ازت	from you
برایم	for me
زیرش	under it
روش	on it
بتان	to you

The following expressions are common .

(ما) سردمان است	We feel cold.
آیا (شما) گرمتان است؟	Do you feet warm ?
(ما) گرسنه مان است	We are hungry.
(شما) تشنه تان است	You are thirsty.

همه is used with affixed pronouns to give force, *e.g.*

این لباسها همه شان خوب است	The whole of these suits are good.
این لباس همه اش خوب است	The whole of this suit is good.

Possessive Pronouns

The classical practice of signifying 'mine', 'thine', 'his' etc. by the demonstrative pronoun آن as از آن من ، از آن شما ، etc. has given way, as already pointed out briefly, to the use of مال which literally means property, *e.g.*

مال من	mine
مال او	his etc.

مال is used in a much wider context now to convey possession, relationship and association, *e.g.*

او مال ایران است	He belongs to Iran.
این کتاب مال سعدی است	This book is written by Sa'di.
این پتو مال اصفهان است	This blanket is made in Isfahan.
این اتو بوس مال قزوین است	This bus is meant for Qazwin.

Reflexive Pronouns

خود : It is rarely used alone. Often it is coupled with the affixed pronouns, singular or plural, *e.g.*

خودش است	It is he himself.
خود تان گفته بودید	You yourself had said.
خودم اصرار داشتم که آواز بخواند	I myself insisted upon his singing a song.

The affixed pronouns can take the place of the reflexives when the latter are used as possessives, *e.g.*

میل دارم کتابم را بخوانم میل دارم کتاب خود (یا کتاب خودم) رابخوانم	I want to read my book.

Simple Demonstrative Pronouns

The classical plurals اینان and آنان are obsolete. آنها has taken the place of آنان and is followed by the relative آنها که , که and better still آنها یکه .

آنها که is also used in classical language, *e.g.*

آنها که جهان زیر قدم فرسودند واندر طلبش هر دو جهان پیمودند (خیام)

Interrogative Pronouns

که in modern colloquial is generally used as کی *e.g.*

ایشان کی هستند ؟ / ایشان که هستند ؟	What are they ?
کی بشما گفت ؟	Who told you?

کی and که are also frequently used in their plural form کیها , که ها , *e.g.*

کیها آمدند ؟	What people came ?

The phrase که بکیست "who is with whom" indicates disorder and confusion.

Generally speaking کی is common in colloquial and که in written Persian.

چه : Like که and که ها the plural of چه is چه ها which is rare in classical Persian, *e.g.*

که ها آمدنه و چه ها گفتد ؟	What people came and what things did they say ?

Indefinite Pronouns

دیگر precedes or follows its noun. The latter is more frequent, *e.g.*

دیگر بار / بار دیگر / دفعه دیگر	next time, again.
دیگری	Another person.
کسی دیگری	Another, someone else.
یکی دیگر	Another *e.g.*
یکی دیگر بیارید	Bring another one.

یک یگر and همدیگر , each other, one another, are reciprocal nouns, *e.g.*

از یکدیگر جدا نشوید	Don't separate from each other.
همدیگر رامیبینم	We shall see one another.

یک دیگر , however, should not be confused with یکی دیگر which mean another person.

As an adverb دیگر means further, again, in addition, *e.g.*

دیگر حرف نزد	He did not speak again.
دیگر چه میل دارید ؟	What else will you like ?[28]

آدم : 'One' (person) is generally translated into آدم and not انسان though شخص is also used sometimes, *e.g.*

آدم تعجب میکند	One wonders.
آدم باید درستکار باشد	One should be honest.

هر دو precedes separate and affixed pronouns, *e.g.*

هر دوی ما مریض بودیم	Both of us were ill.

تا is also used after دو , *e.g.*

هر دو تای ما مریض بودیم	Both of us were ill.

تا however is not used after یک , *e.g.*

هر یک از ایشان سر وقت آمد	Each one of them came in time.

چند Some, several, few. It is placed before its substantive which is in the singular and the verb is in the plural, *e.g.*

چند نفر آمدند	A few persons came.

چندی and یکچند mean 'a little while', *e.g.*

چندی بود که راجع بهسیاست حرف میزد	A little while ago he was talking politics.

یک چند مارا غم رهنمون شد جان غرق غم گشت
دل غرق خون شد (بهار)

چند تن or تنی چند (classical) is replaced by چند نفر

همه : Whole, every.

همه with a singular noun is equivalent to هر and should follow a singular verb, but a plural verb is not ruled out, *e.g.*

همه کس کف زدند — All the people clapped.

The Definite Article

There is no such thing as definite article. If the noun is definite it is denoted by را in the accusative case, *e.g.*

میز را خریدم — I bought the table.
میز خریدم - میزی خریدم — I brought a table.

The Indefinite Article

یای وحدت or ی of unity: It is also called یای تنکیر. In Classical Persian, the indefinite ی is added to the indefinite noun when it is qualified by an adjective but not to the adjective, *e.g.*

مردی کامل — A perfect man.
گلی زیبا — A beautiful flower.[29]

In modern Persian if the noun is indefinite, the indefinite ی is added to the qualifying adjective,[30] e.g.

مرد کاملی — A perfect man.
گل زیبای — A beautiful flower.

If however the adjective itself has ی in the end, the numeral takes the place of the indefinite ی *e.g.*

یک زن پاکستانی — A Pakistan woman, or
زنی پاکستانی

A noun and its attributes are considered to be a syntactical whole. If the noun is indefinite the indefinitie ی is added to the final adjective, *e.g.*

شهر بزرگ با شکوهی — A large splendid city.

The indefinite ی can be added to a plural noun or to its qualifying adjective, *e.g.*

عکسهای قشنگی هست — These are beautiful photographs.
زحمات زیادی کشید — He laboured hard.
زنهای عجیبی هستند — They are strange women.

دیگر: 'Another', in classical language is not followed by ی but in modern it does, *e.g.*

Classical شخص دیگر Modern شخص دیگری

If two indefinite nouns are united by a preposition only the first one will take the indefinite ی , *e.g.*

شاگردی با استاد صحبت میکرد	A student was talking to a teacher.
مردی بازن در باغ گردش میکرد	A man was having a stroll with a woman in the garden.

ی is added to the noun when چه is used as an interrogative, *e.g.*

چه کتابی ؟	Which book?
چه میزی ؟	Which table?

The above is equally true of plural nouns, *e.g.*

چه کسانی هستند ؟	What sort of people are they?

The Adjective

One or two adjectives precede their substantives with the 'izafat', *e.g.*

پیر مرد	The old man.
مرحوم آقای—	The late Mr.—

A few substantives like آرام and راحت are used as adjectives, *e.g.*

دریا آرام است	The sea is calm.
انشا الله که راحت هستید	I hope you are comfortable.

That the above are treated as adjectives and not as substantive will be seen by their having such substantives as آرامش and راحتی and their comparative forms as آرام تر and راحت تر.

Numerals

خیلی and بسیار both mean 'very' and 'many'. The noun they qualify follows them and is put in the sigular, *e.g.*

خیلی کتاب دارد	He has many books.
در مازندران بسیار درخت است	There are many trees in Mazanderan.

If بسیار follows the nouns it qualifies, the latter is put in the plual, *e.g.*

کتابهای بسیار دارد He has many books.

یک : 'One', is sametimes used with a noun which has indefinite ی added to it, *e.g.*

یک گلی A flower.

It has the same meaning as گلی or یک گل

یک may also take the indefinite ی , *e.g.*

یکی ازآن پر تقالها شیرین است One of those oranges is sweet.

یک دیگر ، یکی دیگر and دیگر have already been dealt with under indefinite pronouns.

یکی یکی : One by one.

The Arabic word اول is more frequent than the Persian یکم , *e.g.*

دبیر اول First Secretary.

Half is expressed by نیم ، نیمه and نصف , *e.g.*

ساعت ده ونیم Half past ten.
نیمه شب Midnight.
نیمه قرن نوزدهم The middle of the 19th century.
نصفش بکنید Divide it into halves.

Percentage is expressed as under.

صدی بسیت 20 %
صدی هفتاد وسه 73 %

Many thousand is expressed by هزاران هزار. It usually refers to rational beings, but there may be exceptions, *e.g.*

کاف نبود و نیست هزاران هزار سال
تا باز گو کند
آن لحظهٔ گریختهٔ جاودانه را
آن لخطه را که تنگ در آغوشم آمدی
آن لخطه را که تنگ در آغوشت آمدم [31]

Other similar compounds are:

سالهای سال Many long years.
قرنهای قرن Many a century.

تا : In colloquial Persian تا is used with cardinals for practically every thing, but it is usually avoided in writing. In early classical literature, on the other hand, it has been so used. دانگ :

It is sixth part of real estate. Hence شش دانگ means whole. An owner of one-third share of land or house would be said to be possessing two 'dangs'. An owner of the entire property would say, "I own all six 'dangs' ", *e.g.*

شش دانگ ده مال من است	The whole village belongs to me.
دو دانگ این خانه مال اوست	'Two dangs', that, is one-third of the house belong to him.

دانگ also means musical pitch, *e.g.*

او دو دانگ بیشتر نمی تواند بخواند	His voice is no higher than two-sixths of the entire pitch.

Another meaning.

شش دانگ حواس	The whole attention.

دانه : It is mostly used for such objects which may be counted in pieces, *e.g.*

دو دانه سیب	Two apples.
سه دانه تخم مرغ	Three eggs.
دانهٔ چند است	What does it cost apiece (each)?

Time is expressed by using cardinal numbers, which usually follow the word ساعت, *e.g.*

ساعت چهار ونیم	Half past four.
ساعت شش وربع	Quarter past six.
ساعت شش ربع کم	Quarter to six.

دقیقه is minute and ثانیه is second, *e.g.*

ده دقیقه مانده به دو	Ten minutes to two.
پنج و ده دقیقه	Ten minutes past five.

ظهر signifies midday, *e.g.*

ساعت ظهر است	It is 12 a.m.
نصف شب	12 p.m.

نیم ساعت از ظهر گذشته	12-30 p.m.
یک ربع از نصف شب گذشته	12-15 a.m.
یک ربع به نصف شب مانده	11-45 p.m.
ده دقیقه به ظهر مانده	11-50 a.m.

اند signifies 'odd' and is used with cardinals above nineteen, *e.g.*

صد واند Hundred odd.

Plurals

The classical rule of adding ان to animate and ها to inanimate beings is not strictly observed.

The plural ها is by far the most used. "In spoken language and colloquial writings ها can be used for one and all words" [32]. There is no distinction in this respect between Arabic and Persian substantives.

In spoken language 'ه' of ها is dropped, *e.g.*

دخترا : دختران : دختر ها

پسرا : پسران : پسر ها

As plural is used in personal pronouns instead of singular out of respect, its place may be taken by the double plural, *e.g.*

شما ها : شما

ما ها : ما

However, there is no double plural for ایشان .

In written language ان is used with limbs of the body, and trees and stars, *e.g.*

بازوان : بازو

چشمان : چشم

گیسوان : گیسو

درختان : درخت

ستارگان : ستاره

A few Arabic plurals are commonly used, *e.g.*

حضار : حاضر

مساجد : مسجد

زوار : زایر

Certain broken plurals are used incorrectly as singulars, *e.g.*

طلبة Student (of theology).
ارباب Landlord, Master.

Certain Arabic words are used in broken plurals but not as singulars, *e.g.*

اشراف Aristocracy.
رجال Nobility, Noblemen.
آقای منیر از رجال است Mr. Munir is a distinguished person.
او از مفاخر ایران است He is one of the prides of Iran.

Certain Persian and Arabic words are still popularly rendered plural by the addition of ات *e.g.*

ده	دهات
باغ	باغات
خاطره	خاطرات

The dual is used in certain cases, *e.g.*

اعلی حضر تین Their Majesties.
دولتین The two governments.
مجلسین The two houses of parliament.

In the end it may again be emphasized that the rules of grammar have not been described in their entirety. This paper presupposes full knowledge of classical usage on the part of the reader. Only the peculiarities of current usage have been brought into focus.

Notes

1. Platts, John. T. : Persian Grammar, p. 29
   Phillot, D.C. : Higher Persian Grammar, p. 48
2. It is also means, "I was doing," I used to do," etc. But this is obsole e. Here is an illustration from چهار مقاله :

پیش ازین درمیان ملوک عصر و جبابرهٔ روزگار پیش چون پیشدادیان و کیان واکاسره و خلفا رسمی بوده است که مفاخرت و مبارزت بعدل و فضل کردندی و هر رسولی که فرستادندی از حکم ولغز مسائل با او همراه کردندی......ص ۳۹ (چاپ تهران بکوشش دکتر محمد معین

3. چون برائ صیغهٔ حال در زبان فارسی قاعدهٔ خاصی نیست و صیغهٔ حال و استقبال یکی است.....(دستور زبان فارسی - تالیف استادان دانشگاه - ص ۳۰۱)
4. "The people of Kashan are said to use it freely in speech"—Phillott, p. 226.
5. This construction is, however, present in the classical language also, *e. g.*
   ورنه سزا وار خدا وندیش کس نتواند که بجا آورد (سعدی)
6. Similarly the Preterite of بودن is generally used for the imperfect and the Past Conditional in Modern Persian, *e. g.*
   اگر من بودم خیلی خوب بود instead of اگر من میبودم خیلی خوب میبود
7. Phillott : P.265.
8. دارد has been used in the sense "there is" by Sa'adi, the subject being the whole of the previous clauses:
   عالمی رانشاید که بسفاحت از عامیئی بحلم بگزرد که هر دو طرف رازیانی دارد
9. Chapter XXXII. P. 187.
10. Lambton; A. K. S. : Persian Grammar P. 146.
11. Op. cit. 153.
12. Phillot : p. 270.
13. In colloquial Persian preposition are frequently omitted as it will be explained later.
14. Avesta
15. Old Persian.
16. New nouns have been formed from such compound verbs:

بررسی	Investigation, inquiry.
بازرس	Inspector.
سرکشی	Inspection, survey.
بازگشت	Revival.
پیشرفت	Progress.
جلو گیری	Prevention, control.
کلا برداری	Cheating, swindling.

درآمد Income, profit.
بازجوئی Investigation.

17. Platts, John, T : A Grammar of the Persian Language, p. 198.
18. Compound verbs may not be synonymous with singular verbs in certain cases. خواب رفتن means to go to bed, while خوابیدن in colloquial Persian means "to lie down", *e. g.*

او خواب بود He was asleep.
او خوابیده بود He was lying down.

19. The following compounds may be noted.
از هم : from one another, *e. g.*

ازهم جدا شدند They parted from one another.

مثل هم : Alike, equal, *e.* g.
رفتنم یا نه رفتنم مثل هم است My going or not going is alike.

Another interesting phrase is عاشق هم , that is, in love with each other, *e.* g.

عاشق هم شد ند They fell in love with each other.

20. It is a favourite epithet with modern poets, e. g.

دامن کشان زیر تو مهتاب تیرگی
رو مینهد بسایه اشجار دور دست
شب دلکشت وپر تو نمناک ماهتاب
خراب آورست و ست (رهاص ۸۳ : فریدون توللی)
برقی دمیده ازدل آفاق دور است
تا سایهٔ کبو شب افتاده بر زمین (چشما و دستها ص - ۸۳ : نادر- نادر پور)
از بیشه های خرم و آرام دور دست
آوای دلکش پریان میرسد بگوش (نشئهٔ طوفان - ص ۱۰۹ : فریدون مشیری)

21. Hence خارجی: Foreigner.
22. Time, (especially night) is also expressed by the dative, *e. g.*

شب رابیدار بودم I kept awake at night.

23. ماهیانه also means monthly fees at school or college.
24. رد is modern Persian also meants to pass, *e. g.* این پرونده راباو رد بکنید Pass this file on to him.

25. باعث is rare.

26. Persian Grammar, p. 131.

27. In classical Persian words like, بنده , مخلص , کمترین etc. are always followed by 3rd person sing.

28. دیگر is also used as a catchword in colloquial Persian. It may convey slight sense of finality or even protest, *e. g.*

روشن خیام است دیگر — It is rather Khayyam's style

آمده بودم دیگر — I *had* come.

29. There are exceptions to the rule. Rumi has added the indefinite ی to the adjective in the following couplet :

دید شخص کاملی پر مایه‌ای — آفتابی درمیان سایه ای

" یای وحدت در آخر صفت در آید واکنون این طریقه در زبان فارسی معمول است (دستور زبان فارسی ص ۳۷ : استادان دانشگاه

30.

31. دختر جام ض ۷۷ : نادر - نادر پور

32.

" درزبان مکالمه و تخاطب و نوشته های که بزبان عا میانه نگشته میشود همهٔ کلمات راتوان به "ها" جمع بست" (قاعده های جمع درزبان فارسی ص ۷۰ : دکتر محمد معین)

Some Problems of Urdu Script

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The interest in Urdu script is the outcome of a number of factors. The ever accelerating developments in printing technology have created a desire and need for printing and typing Urdu with mechanical facility and ease. There has been also a tendency to modernize, or rather westernize, the existing script on the assumption that everything occidental is *par excellence.* Finally, there has been an urge to innovate by removing some of the perceived defects in the language as well as the script.

It is interesting that most of those who have made a loud noise for the change, and, Sir, I am one of them, were laymen. They were neither literary figures, nor could they claim to be linguists, for linguistics as a science and a subject of study and research has still not been able to find a firm footing in this part of the world.

The usual acceptable criterion for a good script is that it should facilitate reading, writing, and printing. Such a script should, as far as possible, conform to the principle that each sound is represented by one letter and each letter has one sound. However, this ideal-type situation has not been achieved by any existing script. An improved Urdu script can, therefore, hope to achieve the objective of facility of reading, writing and printing to a degree. An attempt to achieve excellence will mean the introduction of a new language, and, we in this country have already too many languages to learn and to teach in our schools.

Urdu script, based as it is on Arabic and Persian script, is beautiful to look at but it has some inherent defects. There are as many as nine groups comprising 26 letters where characters in each gronp have the same shape, differentiated only by a dot, dash, or similar sign. The similarity of shape is confusing to the learner and it is not always possible, in the beginning at least, to remember the number of dots for each character. There are, also, a numher of letters which sound alike but are written differently. Thus, there are four differcnt letters for the sound "Z", three for "S", two for soft "T" and two for the aspirate sound. The two initial sounds of *alif* and *ain* are also seldom differentiated. The learner has, therefore, the task of remembering which letter from a certain group is to be used in a particular word. It is a common experience that even life-long practice will not eliminate the risk of error.

Though the script contains 38 characters, each letter undergoes a complete metamorphosis in writing and printing. Each letter may assume two, four or even more forms, thus bringing the total number of forms to about 150 in Naskh. The number of shapes that a letter can assume can be illustrated by showing the forms taken by the letter ب in Nastaliq script :

اب - کب - بت - سبق - بم - بس - بی - بات

The script does not employ diacritical marks, with the result that a word can be read in many different ways. The child has to remember whether a particular letter in a word has a *zer*, *zabar*, *pesh*, or *jazam*. The result is that pronunciation of Urdu words has been unduly corrupted and even well-read persons are liable to mispronounce them.

The printing of Urdu presents a number of handicaps. This is particuiarly so, when, as at present, printing is done by lithography. The various parts of the word are not readily distinguishableand the dots are rarely assigned to the character to which they belong. Further, it is neither possible to insert correction, nor to

print illustrations along with the text. Finally, the caligraphy which is entrusted to more than one *Katib* is seldom uniform.

Attempts made so far to prepare printing type in Nastaliq have proved abortive. Extensive experiments were made in Hyderabad (Deccan) but were abandoned for commercial and technical reasons. The number of characters, dots, and dashes in Nastaliq fount would be so large as to render composition and distribution extremely difficult. Naskh printing is steadily replacing Nastaliq in Pakistan. All countries in the Middle East have almost exclusively been using Naskh. However, in its present form, despite a number of advantages, particulary as compared to Nastaliq, it has not gained popularity in this country. It is expensive as compared to lithography and a suitable type has not been produced which could be used in linotype or for the Urdu typewriter. The number of characters is so large that considerable time is required to compose. This hampers the use of modern methods.

Attempts at solving the problem :

A number of remedies have been offered as a solution to the problems mentioned above.

The Roman Script

The most widely spoken of reform is to abandon the existing script altogether and to use Roman script instead. The suggestion, it may be noted, is based not on any empirical studies but on the assumption that the script has been successfully employed in Turkey, Indonesia, and for African languages. It is also assumed that a new language can be created simply by having a common script for Urdu and Bengali and that this step will put Urdu at par with European languages. These assumptions have been countered by another set of assumptions that the adoption of Roman script will impair the religious, intellectual, literary, and emotional ties with the cultural heritage of the people of Pakistan, and that the Roman script was unsuitable to the genius of the two Pakistani languages. The arguments for and against the use of

Roman script have been fairly dealt with in the *Report of the Commission on National Education* (1959) and therefore need not be repeated here. This, as mentioned above, has remained an academic discussion without any attempt to conduct experiments, and unless that is done, any step taken in this direction on the basis of hear-say or idealistic thought is likely to prove disastrous to the literacy campaign in the country. There is, however, little doubt that questions such as culture, religions etc., and along with these, matters relating to languages and their scripts cannot always be dealt with through cold logic. Any change that does not take emotional side into consideration is not likely to be accepted by the society.

Harfi script

Another solution was, what this speaker termed as *Harfi* script as far back as 1948 while reading a paper in thc First All Pakistan Science Conference. In accordance with this proposal each character is to be written separately and the shape of each character is to be altered slightly so as to eliminate circuler endings in certain letters. For example, it was suggested that ج - س - ص - ع etc. could be written as ﺟ - ﺳ - ﺻ - ﻋ This proposal also envisaged that vowels be separated and each vowel should have a distinct character of its own to be written like a consonant in the word itself retaining its value in writing as well as in reading. The eleven vowels used in this script are given in Table I. After having completed the experiment, it transpired that although the script was systematic and answered most of the requirements, it had some inherent defects. Firstly, the adoption of such an idea will bring a generic change in the language and, secondly, while the script was ideal for printing, it could not be hand-written, and, for the purpose, it was necessary to retain the old script for hand-written documents. There was, however, one advantage of pursuing this problem: the suggestion made for writing Urdu with separate characters was fully explored and taken to its logical conclusion. Unless some

further work in this field reveals something new, the suggestion of writing Urdu with separate characters seems futile. A sample of *harfi* script using the existing alphabet is given in Annexure I.

Development of Naskh script

A third solution with which this speaker made some experiments was that without making any generic changes in the script, possibilities should be explored to improve it, particularly for the purposes of printing. Research and experiments were made for :

1. locating the vowel sounds used in Urdu and developing a method of inserting them as characters or diacritical marks to express a specific sound in the word ; and

2. finding out the frequency of occurrence of letters in the language to suggest a uniform and a better Key-board for Urdu typewriter as well as rearrangement of composing cases in the printing presses.

Vowel Sounds

A detailed analysis of vowel sounds used in Urdu revealed that there were eleven such basic sounds : six long and five short vowels. The vowel sounds along with examples from Urdu as well as English are given in Table I below :

TABLE I

LONG AND SHORT VOWELS IN URDU

Vowel Sound	Exampls in Urdu	Equivalent sound in English
آ	آم - مال - مالا	a in father
اے	ایک - میل - میلے	a in fate
ای	ایمان - میل - پانی	ee in feet
اَو	عَورت - مَولوی - پر تَو	o in not

TABLE I—*Continued.*

Vowel Sound	Exampls in Urdu	Equivalent sound in English
او	اوك - مول - بولو	o in more
اُو	اُون - مُول - چاقُو	oo in school
اَے	اَیسا - مَیل - نَے	a in fat
e	این - پین	e in pen
اِ	اِس - مِل	i in this
اَ	اَب - مَل	u in much
اُ	اُس - مُل	oo in good

The vowel sounds given in Table I have to be inserted and pronounced in Urdu words. One way of achieving this objective is as follows :

1. All letters in Urdu be read and taught as ا - ب - ج and not as الف - بے - جیم.

2. Subject to exceptions given below, any letter that is without a diacritical mark should be read as though it includes the sound 'u' of 'much'. However, the last letter of a syllable should be considered as silent. For example the word ھلچل has two syllables ھل and چل. If there is no diacritical mark on ھ, it will be read with a *zabar*, the two *lams* being silent.

3. The vowel sounds should be indicated by special signs invariably, particularly in all text books. One way of representing the sounds could be as given in Table II.

TABLE II

REPRESENTATION OF VOWEL SOUNDS IN URDU

Sound	Method of writing	Example
آ	As at present	آم - مال - مالا
اے	Write without a mark. Beginning : ا+ي	ایک
	Middle : ي	سیب - میل
	End : as at present.	میلے
ای	Beginning : اِ+ي	اِیمان - اِیثار
	Middle : write preceding letter with a *zer*	مِیل - اِصیل
	End : as at present	پانی - مالی
اَو	Beginning : اَ and و	اَور
	Middle and end : write preceding letter with a *zabar*	کَون - عَورت
او	Write without a mark. Beginning : ا+و	اوک
	Middle and end :	بولو
اُو	Beginning : ا and و	اُون
	Middle and end : write preceding letter with a *pesh*	خُوب - اُردو
اَے	Beginning : اَ and ي	اَیسا - اَیوان
	Middle and end : write preceding letter with *zabar*	وَیسا - مَیل
e (pen)	The sound does not occur in Urdu, as such, but a number of foreign words having this sound are increasingly used in Urdu; *e.g.*, پین (pen), بیل (bell) etc.	بیل

Sound	Method of writing.	Example.
ـــ	The Urdu Encyclopedia of Islam is using a sign ـــ underneath the dots of ﭙ , *e.g.*, in bell. This innovation may be retained or the ی can simply take the existing sign of *jazam* over ﭙ.	بیل ـــ بیْل
اِ	Indicate with *zer.*	اِس - مِل
اَ	As indicated above each letter will have the sound ا included in it unless a diacritical mark is used for expressing another sound, or when the letter happens to be the last syllable.	
اُ	Indicate with *pesh.*	اُس - مُل

The suggestions made above have aimed at making least possible changes in the script and to stick to existing practices as far as possible. The major advantage of this proposal is that it would ensure correct reading. As changes have been kept to absolute minimum, the existing method of writing is not affected. The changes also facilitate printing by introducing some new techniques, a discussion of which follows.

Inserting Diacritical Marks

Diacritical marks are not generally indicated in the existing script. This practice has made it difficult to learn Urdu. Even otherwise, as pointed out earlier, the readibility is affected adversely. To facilitate the insertion of diacritical marks in accordance with the changes suggested in this paper, and even for printing the existing script in Naskh, certain technical devices have to be introduced. The experiments made in this respect by the speaker have proved successful. It must, however, be admitted that the experiments are by no means conclusive and there is tremendous

scope to make further experiments in this field. Th experiment can be described by taking an extreme example of Arabic script, the script that is employed for writing Urdu. It is also the script that uses maximum diacritical marks. The extreme example, it may be added, has been taken to demonstrate the relative advantages of the new device.

In order to place the diacritical marks on a single line of Arabic, the compositor takes the following steps :

(*a*) He composes the line without diacritical marks.

(*b*) He then composes a line of diacritical marks to be placed above the words and still another line of such marks to be placed below the words.

(*c*) Finally he adjusts the diacritical marks for each word in the line.

The whole process is laborious. It means more time and it also takes more space. A composing in 16 points will take a space equal to 32 points for a single line. Further, it is difficult to take out or to add a word in a line for which the entire paragraph, may have to be reset—a task that is as difficult as fresh composing.

The new device aims at composing the diacritical marks as ordinary characters. The diacritical mark for a joining letter carries a small hyphen with it which elongates the previous character and, thus, the diacritical mark is placed in contiguity to the previous letter, giving the impression that it actually belongs to the required character. The use of this device is demonstrated in the examples forming Annexure II of this paper.

Passages B and D have been composed in accordance with the existing method. The space between lines B2 and B4 may be noted which is greater than the space between the lines B1, B2, and B3. Similarly in Arabic composing, the total space occupied both ways in D, is shown by the two lines drawn over D1 and under D2. Passages A and C have been composed in accordance with the new method. The spaces in between the Lines A are

equal and the space occupied by the lines in C is shorter vertically as well as horizontally.

The method described above has been very successfuly used by the Board of Secondary Education, Lahore, for printing question papers in Arabic language.

Frequency of occurrence of Urdu characters

As Urdu type is not very popular in the country, the Lino or the Mono machines are not being used extensively. Instead, the presses are using the hand-compositor to pick up various characters. The existing arrangement is most defective. The frequently used letters like *kaf, lam, mim,* and *nun* are to be found in the upper case.

In order to effect any improvement, it was necessary to find out the frequency of occurrence of Urdu characters. This was done by taking 25 passages of 250 words each from literary and technical books and similar number of passages containing the language used in daily papers. The comparison of the passages and final analysis revealed the frequency count shown in the figure which forms Annexure III of this paper.

Reorganization of Urdu Composing Case

Keeping the newly worked out frequency of occurrence of Urdu letters, the type cases were improved as shown in Annexure IV (showing the old case) and Annexure V (showing the new case). The improved cases are equal in size to the composing cases used for some of the European languages including English. Unnecessary characters have been abolished retaining 142, out of 222, characters. The following is a comparison of the new and the old cases :

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF OLD AND NEW COMPOSING CASES

	Old cases	*New cases*
Size	$36 \times 36\frac{1}{4}''$	$32\frac{1}{4} \times 29''$
Characters	222	142
Numerals	10	10
Other signs	12	8
Total number	248	165 (22 vacant)

Because of simplicity and scientific arrangement, these cases are being used with great advantage in the presses of the Panjab University and the Board of Secondary Education, Lahore. With the help of Mr. A. Rashid Khan, the then Superintendent, Government Printing, West Pakistan, the system was also introduced in the West Pakistan Government Press.

The new cases have obvious advantanges. Their use has eliminated the necessity of keeping furniture of different sizes in the composing room. They are easy to handle and convenient to use. As the frequently occurring letters are within the span of control of the compositor, he has mostly to work on the lower case. This has increased the speed in composing. The quantitative results, however, have still to be checked up, but a preliminary survey reveals that the speed has increased by about 1½ times as a result of this reorganization.

Improvements in Urdu Typewriters

Urdu typewriters of different makes are in use in the country. Every make has a different arrangement for the key-board and each one of it is defective. The frequently occurring letters have been allocated to difficult positions, while, letters like ث which has a frequency of .13 in Urdu, is located at the most convenient place in the key boards. The sketches of the Remington and Everest keyboards are shown in Annexures VI and VII.

In the absence of mechanical facilities, it was not possible to make extensive experiments on the arrangement of thekey board, but whatever little facilities were available, they were utilised to work out a new keyboard.

It is possible that after experimenting with this keyboard a minor change, here and there, may be necessary, but this may be taken as a general pattern of the future keyboard of the Urdu typewriter.

It is worthwhile to add here that IBM have devised a new technique for use in typewriters. Instead of key bars, a cylinder has been used which revolves by pressing a key and the impression

is reproduced by contact with the cylinder. This innovation has tremendous possibilities for Urdu script which should be explored.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has directed the attention of scholars and those interested in developing the Urdu language to concentrate their efforts for improving the existing Naskh script rather than wasting energy in academic discussions for evolving a new language or a new script. The experiments conducted represent the efforts of one individual without having proper facilities by way of technical skill, time, and money at his disposal. But these efforts clearly prove that there is a scope for improvement in the script as well as in the methods of composing. The Government, the Universities, and other groups of scholars, such as the Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan will do well to take up this project in all seriousness and with the attention that the national language deserves.

After the presentation of this paper in the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists, the writer, when called upon to act as a member of a committee set up by the Central Urdu Development Board to standardize a keyboard, worked on the problem *de novo* with active help from M. Najmul Hasan Thanvi and M. Tammannai who were co-opted members of the committee. The following principles were envolved :

(1) Frequently occuring letters in initial as well as final form should be so arranged as to avoid use of shift-key.

(2) As far as possible a letter that is split up in its initial and final form and placed in differen rows, should be so placed as to type it by using the same figure. These principles have been applied in the keyboard given in Annexure VIII. The keyboard presented to the Committee and approved by it is capable of writing not only Urdu but other West Pakistan languages like Sindhi, Pushto, Panjabi, *etc.*

Acknowledgements are due to a number of friends among them, Sh. Manzoor Hussain, Head Assistant, Board of Secondary Education, Lahore ; the late Sh. Abdul Ghafoor, a compositor of Punjab University Press ; Waheed Ahmed and Maulana Najmul Hassan Thanvi, of the Board of Secondary Education Press ; A. Rashid Khan, ex-Superintendent, Government Printing Press, West Pakistan, and Mr. M. Aslam of the same Press. All these persons have contributed in one way or another in shaping my ideas or giving a practical shape to certain ideas during the course of my research since 1947. To the list may be added the name of Sh. Omar Draz of Pak Type Foundry, Lahore, who was always willing to put ideas to commercial use. In particular, he has helped in introducing the reformed type cases. He also invested in the dyes for new method of diacritical marks without even considering whether or not the experiment will be a success.

A SAMPLE OF HARFI SCRIPT

Proposed by : M. AFZAL

نوٹ: حرفی خط کے درج ذیل نمونہ میں موجودہ نسخ ٹائپ کے حروف استعمال کئے گئے ہیں۔ نئے حروف، جیسا کہ مضمون میں اشارہ کیا گیا ہے، نستعلیقی ہوں گے۔ جو حروف لائن میں بہت اوپر یا بہت نیچے چلے جاتے ہیں انہیں مختصر کر کے ایک سیدھ میں رکھ دیا جائے گا۔

ا ب پ ت ٹ ث ج چ ح خ د ڈ ذ ر ڑ ز ژ س ش ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق ک گ ل م ن ں و ہ ء ی ئ

ۂ آ، ا - ے - ۓ - ئے - ی - ئ - ؤ - ۆ - ۇ - ۃ

ہم میں سے کتنے ایسے ہوں گے جنہوں نے بنی نوعِ انسان کے لیے فنِ تحریر کی افادیت پر غور کیا ہے۔ عقل و فکر کا لامحدود خزانہ حروف کی ایجاد کے بغیر کسی طرح ممکن نہ ہو سکتا تھا۔ اگر تحریر کو تمدن کے ارتقا کا سب سے بڑا ذریعہ کہا جائے تو غلط نہ ہو گا۔

پرانے زمانے میں فنِ تحریر کا احترام اس کی اہمیت کا سب سے بڑا مظہر ہے۔ قدیم مصری اسے دیوتاؤں کی ایجاد سمجھتے تھے۔ اہلِ بابل کے نزدیک کتابت کا دیوتا تقدیر کا دیوتا بھی تھا۔ یہودیوں کے خیال میں فنِ تحریر کے موجد حضرتِ موسیٰ علیہ السلام تھے۔ یونانی دیومالا میں بھی فنِ تحریر دیوتاؤں سے منسوب کیا جاتا ہے۔ قدیم چینی اور ہندوستانی رسمِ خط کو خدائی ایجاد سمجھتے تھے۔

حروفِ ابجد کا مطالعہ نہایت دلچسپ ہے۔ بائیس حروف پر مشتمل اصل ترتیب ابجد ہوز حطی کلمن سعفص اور قرشت قریبن ہر یونانی اور سامی نظامِ تہجی میں موجود تھی۔ عبرانی میں تو یہ ترتیب اب تک بعینہٖ موجود ہے بلکہ اس میں حروفِ تہجی کو ہندسوں کے بجائے استعمال کرتے ہیں اور اسی ہندسی قیمت سے اردو میں تاریخیں نکالتے ہیں۔ اس ترتیب کا کوئی نہ کوئی حصہ اب بھی اکثر زبانوں میں موجود ہے۔ انگریزی میں کے، ایل، ایم، این، کیو، آر، ایس، ٹی۔ بلکہ اے، بی، سی ڈی پر غور کیجیے۔ اصل ترتیب نمایاں طور پر نظر آئے گی۔ اردو میں بھی ک، ل، م، ن اسی ترتیب کی یادگار کے طور پر موجود ہیں۔

ترتیب کے علاوہ حروف کے نام بھی دلچسپی کا باعث ہیں۔ یہ نام کیسے وجود میں آئے؟ اس پر علماء کا اختلاف ہے۔

عام طور پر یہی خیال کیا جاتا ہے کہ یہ نام عام چیزوں کے ناموں سے ماخذ ہیں۔ "ب"۔ "بیٹا" یا "بیت" بمعنی گھر سے ماخذ ہے۔ "د"۔ "دالت" یا "ڈیلٹا" در اصل خیمے کا دروازہ تھا۔ "ز"۔ "زین" یا "زیٹا" کا ماخذ زیتون یا میزان بتایا جاتا ہے۔

NEW METHOD OF PLACING DIACRITICAL MARKS

Proposed by : M. AFZAL

A (نیا طریقه)

1 ظاهر میں تجارت هے حقیقت میں جوا هے

2 سُود ایک کا لاکھوں کیلئے مرگِ مفاجات

3 یه عِلم یه حِکمت یه تدبُّر یه حکومت

4 پیتے هیں لهُو دیتے هیں تعلیمِ مساوات

B (پرانا طریقه)

1 ظاهر میں تجارت هے حقیقت میں جوا هے

2 سود ایک کا لاکھوں کیلئے مرگ مفاجات

3 یه عِلم یه حِکمت یه تدبر یه حکومت

4 پیتے هیں لهُو دیتے هیں تعلیم مساوات

C (نیا طریقه)

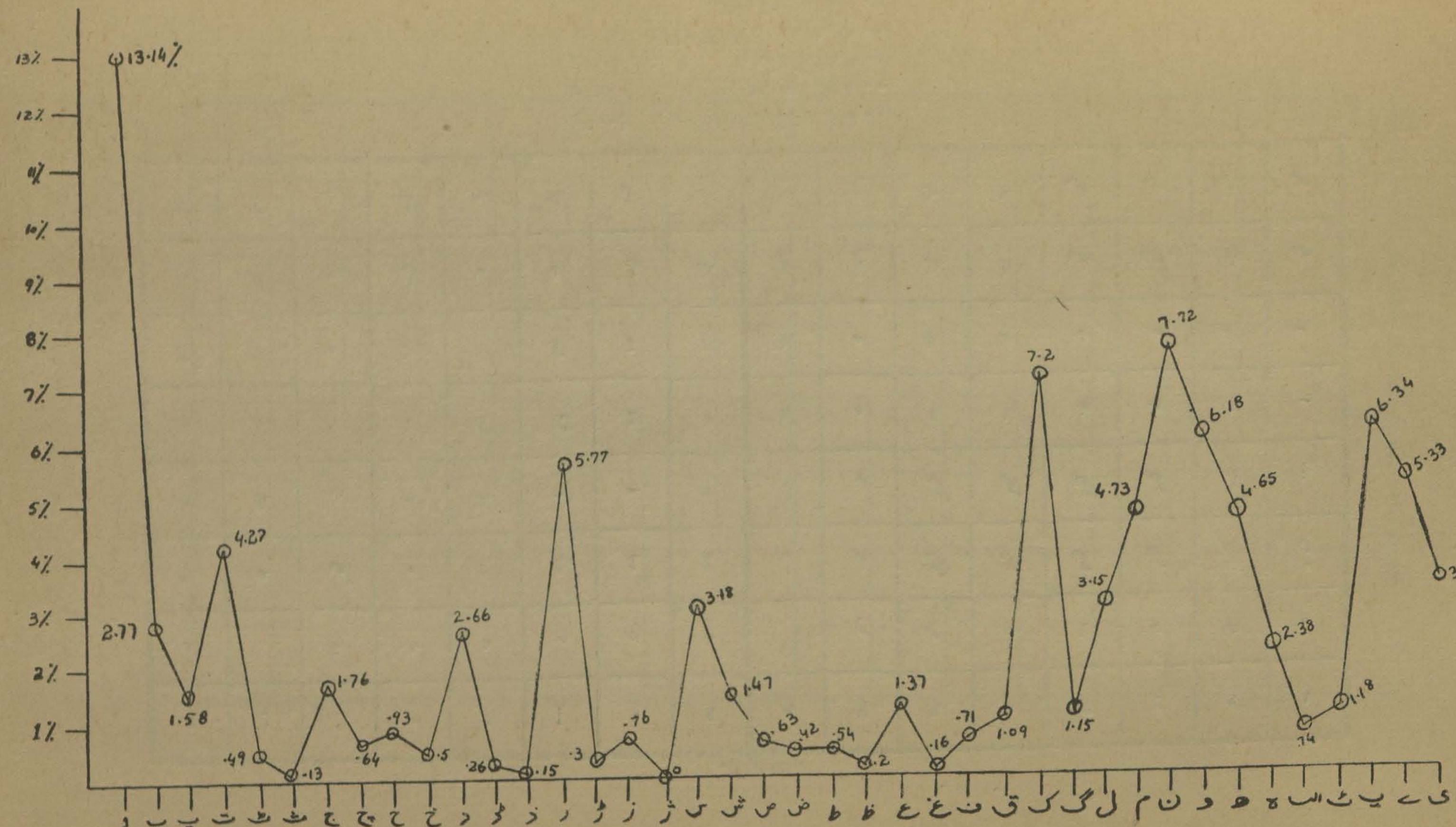
1 تَعَلَّمُوا الْعِلْمَ وَ عَلِّمُوْهُ النَّاسَ

2 تَعَلَّمُوا الْعِلْمَ وَ عَلِّمُوْهُ النَّاسَ

D (پرانا طریقه)

1 تَعَلَّمُوا الْعِلْمَ وَ عَلِّمُوْهُ النَّاسَ

2 تَعَلَّمُوا الْعِلْمَ وَ عَلِّمُوْهُ النَّاسَ



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پرانا اپر کیس

ۂ	ژ	،	،	،	!	۰	۹	۸	۷	٦	٥	۴	۳	۲	۱
ۃ		ۃ	ۂ	خ	ـہ	ـۂ	ـۂ		م	م	ﷲ	ا	ء	ـۓ	ـۓ
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لا	ﷴ	ں	ـہ	ـہ	ـحـ	ـحـ	ـحـ	لی	لي	گل	کل	گی	کی	کي	:
گا	کا	۰	ا	گ	ک	ق	ف	غ	ع	ظ	ط	ض	ص	ش	ـ
گا	کا	ۂ	ا	گ	ک	ق	ف	غ	ع	ظ	ط	ض	ص	ش	ـ
گا	کا	م	ل	ـ	ء	ق	ف	غ	ع	ظ	ط	ض	ص	ش	س
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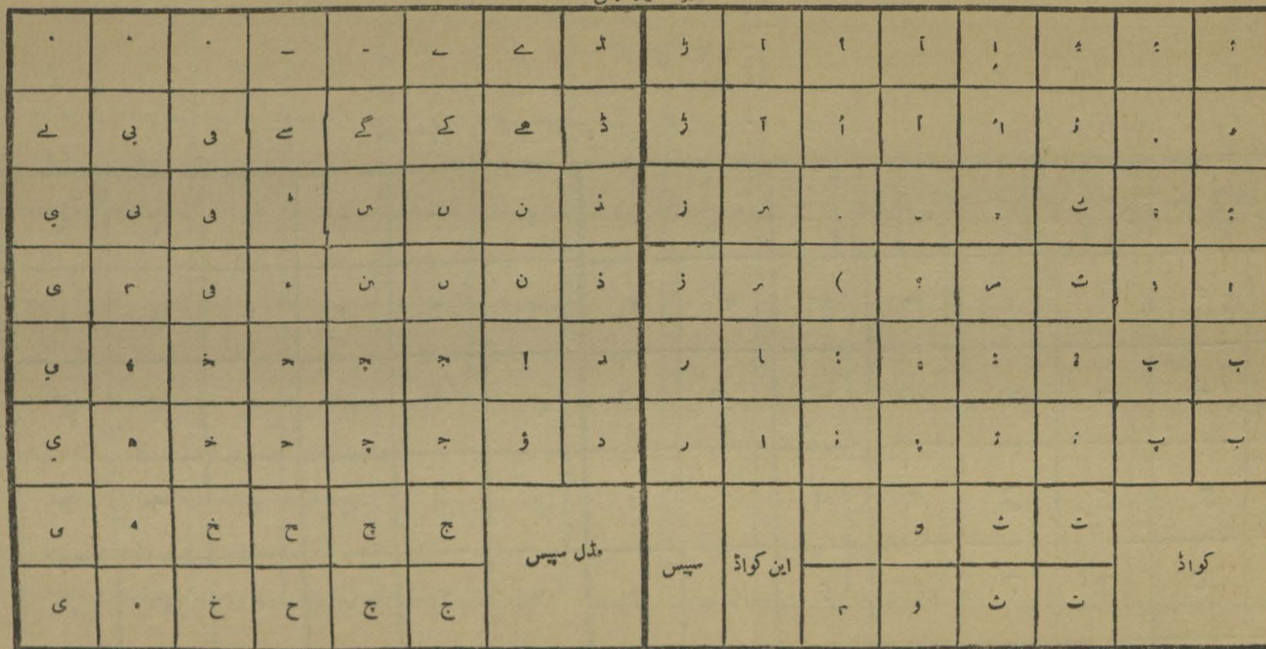
۱ - لمبائی لوئر کیس اور اپر کیس : $36\frac{1}{2}$ انچ

۲ - چوڑائی " " " " : ۱۸ انچ

۳ - خانے کی گہرائی : $1\frac{1}{4}$ انچ

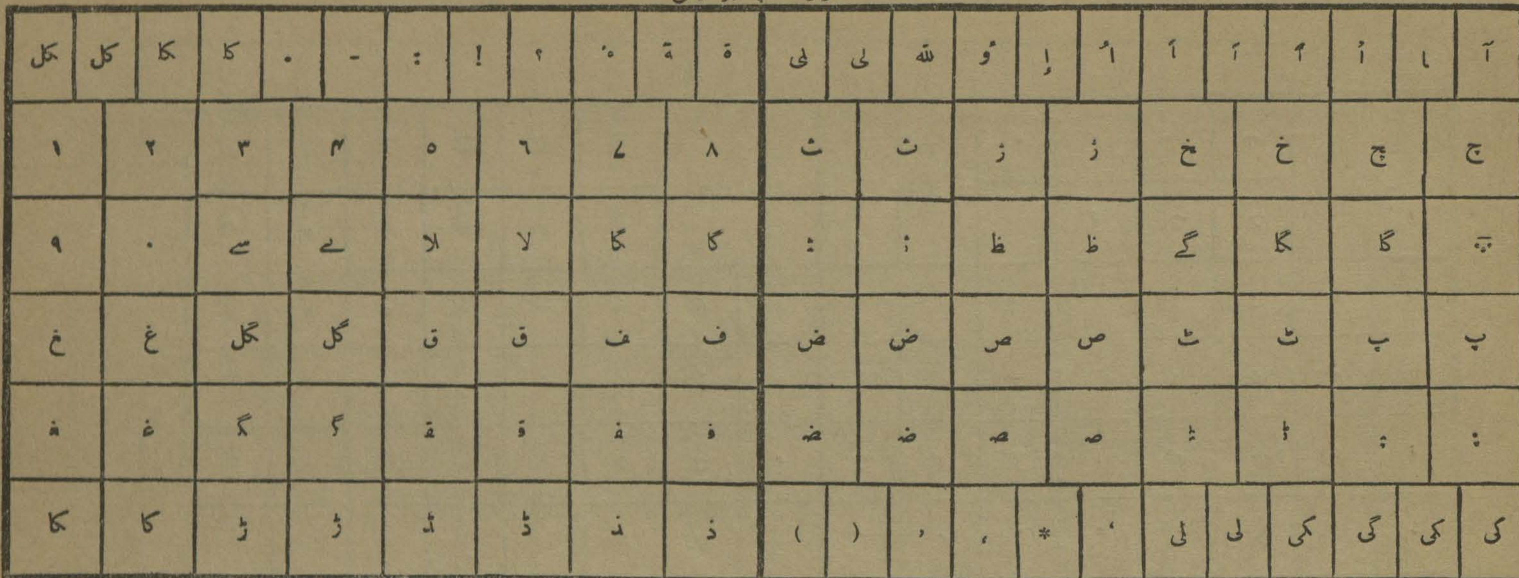
۴ - حاشیے اور درمیانی لکڑی کی موٹائی : $\frac{3}{4}$ انچ

۵ - خانے کی لکڑی کی موٹائی : $\frac{1}{4}$ انچ



پرانا لوئر کیس

مونو ٹائپ اپر کیس



۱ - لمبائی لوئر کیس اور اپر کیس : ۳۲ ۱/۴ انچ

۲ - چوڑائی " " " " : ۱۴ ۱/۲ انچ

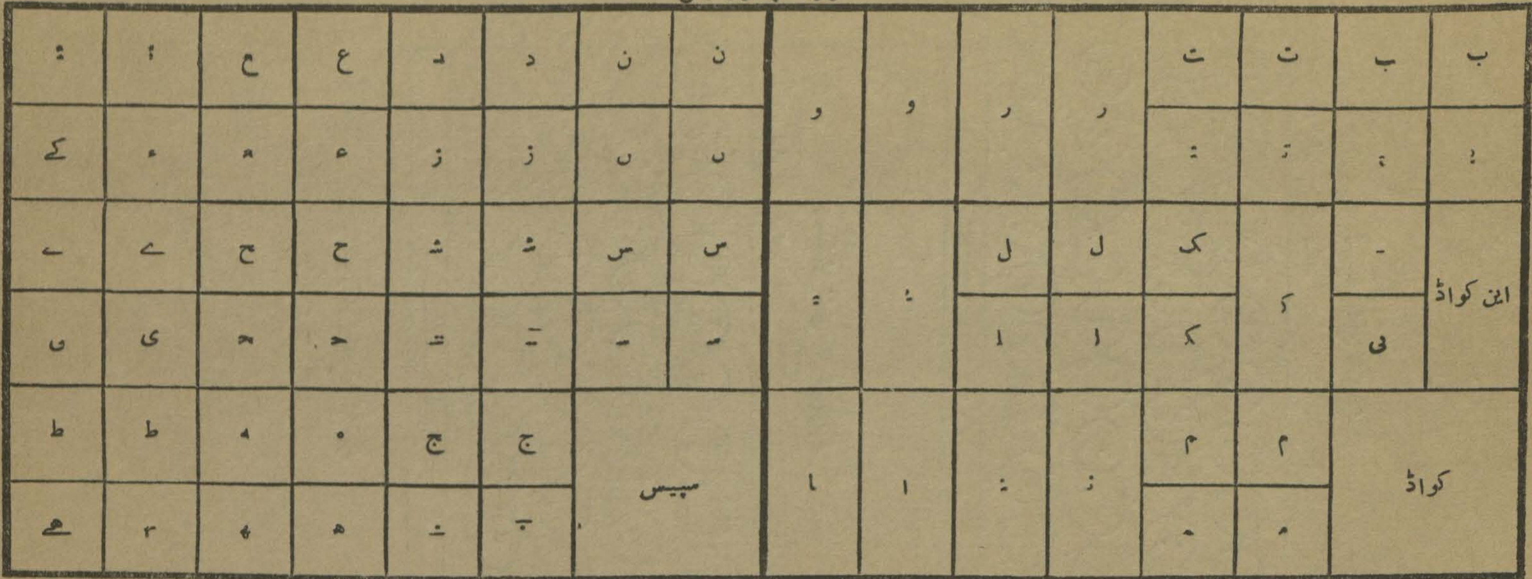
۳ - خانے کی گہرائی : ۱ ۱/۴ انچ

۴ - حاشیے اور درمیانی لکڑی کی موٹائی : ۱/۲ انچ

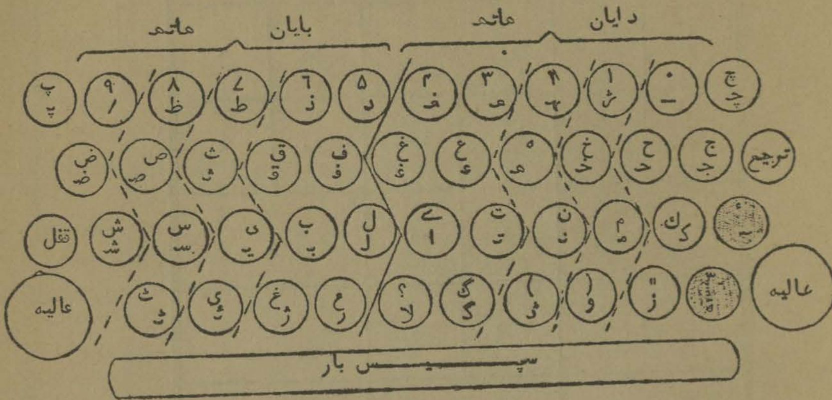
۵ - خانے کی لکڑی کی موٹائی : ۱/۴ انچ

نوٹ:- اپر کیس میں اوپر کے ۲۴ خانے اور نیچے دائیں طرف کے بارہ خانے اس حساب سے بنائے گئے ہیں : ۲ خانے = ۳ خانے

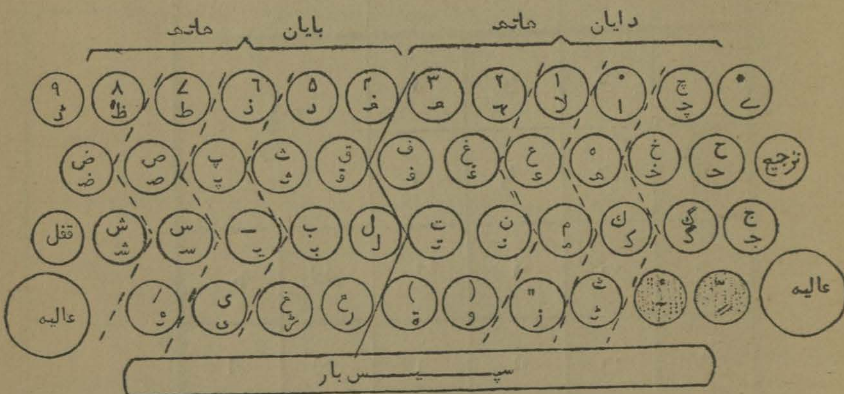
مونو ٹائپ لوئر کیس



ایورسٹ مشین کا کیبورڈ

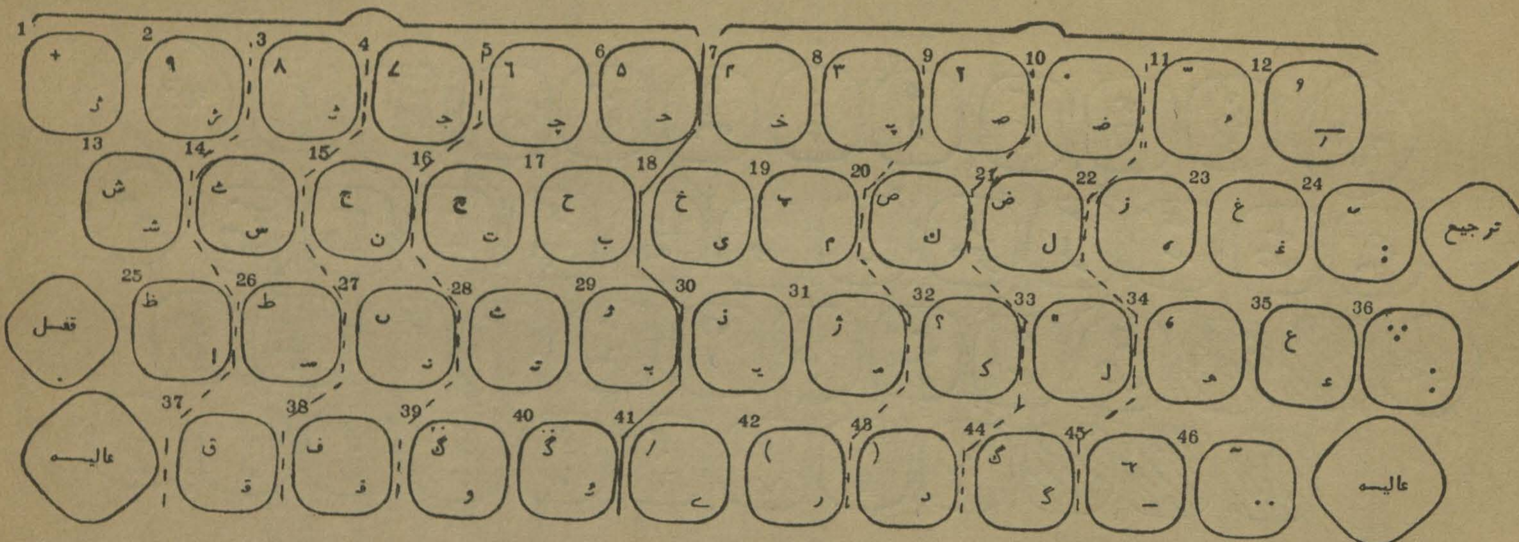


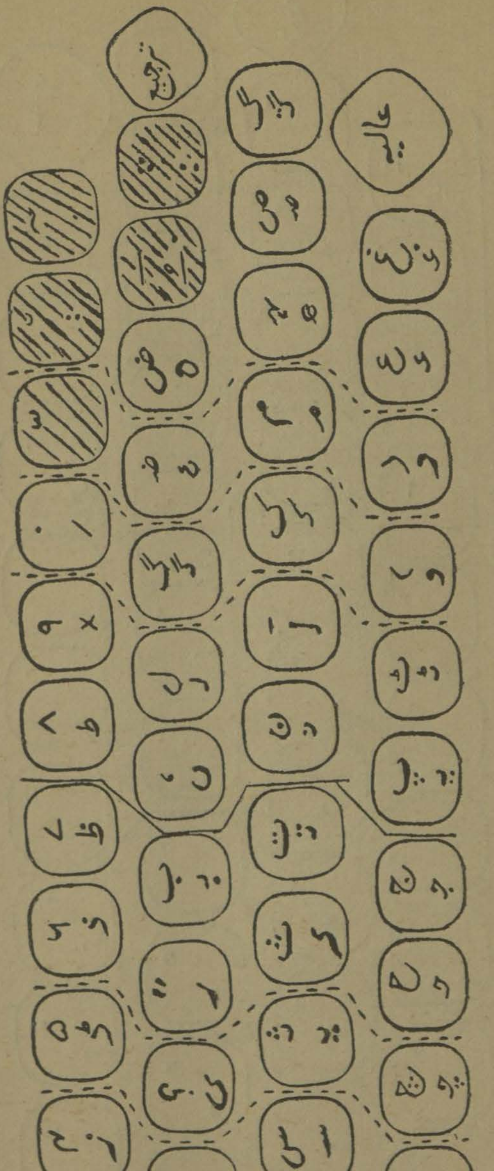
ریمنگٹن مشین کا کیبورڈ



اردو ٹائپ رائٹر کیلئے نیا کیبورڈ

مجوزہ ایم ۔ افضل →


ترجيع
قفل
عاليه
عاليه



Some Syntactic Structures of Bengali

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University of Dacca.

The earliest Bengali grammar was written as a code of rules for writers, and was based on the earlier Indian grammatical theories formulated for Sanskrit Grammatical categories, such as gender, number, case, tense, person, grade etc., on the one hand and word classes, such as, noun, verb, indeclinables and their sub-classes, on the other, were well-known to the earlier teachers of Bengali. They also discussed the formal relations between the elements of structures or to give it the Bengali term derived from Sanskrit, 'Karɔkɔ'.

Evolution of the term 'Karɔkɔ' in Indian grammatical theory upto the present day is in itself an interesting study. [1]'Karɔkɔ' or syntactic relations of the elements of sentence structure formed the frame in which inflected nominals and verbal forms were duly identified and paradigmatically stated in sentences of various kinds. And at least to that extent Sanskrit grammar is formal. Because of the fact that 'Karɔkɔ[2] is the technical term used to state the relations of the verbals with the inflected nominals, it has become the tradition in modern times to use it to refer to the verb and to the noun even in isolated position. Thus any modern teacher of Bengali would say that there are eight cases,[2] but six

1. See S. K. Chatterji : Origin and Development of Bengali Language, thesis submitted for D. Litt., London University, 1926, and also see Sidheswar Varma : Critical Studies in the phonetic observation of Indian grammarians, (Royal Asiatic Society).

2. They are : (*i*) Nominative, (*ii*) Objective (Accusative), (*iii*) Instrumental, (*iv*) Dative, (*v*) Ablative, (*vi*) Locative, (*vii*) Vocative, and (*viii*) Genetive (Possessive).

'Karɔkɔs'[3] for, vocative and possessive are cases but have nɔ 'Karɔkɔ'. And he would also say that the verb has two 'baccyɔs' or voices in the 'sɔkɔrmɔkɔ' or transitive group :

(*i*) Kɔrti baccyɔ'

(*ii*) 'Kɔrmɔ baccyɔ'

which we might translate, for the moment, as Active Voice and Passive Voice respectively.

And in the 'ɔkɔrmɔkɔ' or intransitive group

(*i*) 'bhabɔ baccyɔ' and

(*ii*) Kɔrmɔ-Kɔrti baccyɔ'

which we might translate as (*i*) neuter, intransitive or passive impersonal voice, and (*ii*) middle or quasi-passive voice respectively.

All these ignore the beautiful structural analysis of the sentence made by the early Paninians.[4] It is difficult to find, for instance, any teacher who could give a satisfactory explanation for his use of the word 'Karɔkɔ' for the inflected nouns. This is partly due to the influence of English school grammars in the teaching of languages in our country. A teacher would, however, explain 'kɔrti baccyɔ' and 'Kɔrmɔ baccyɔ' ascribed to the verb in the light of those school grammars of this country planned on the English school grammars.[5]

3 They are : (*i*) Kɔrta (nominative), (*ii*) Kɔrmɔ (objective or accusative), (*iii*) Kɔrɔn (instrumental), (*iv*) Somprɔdan (dative), (*v*) ɔpadan (ablative), and (*vi*) ɔdhikɔrɔn (locative). Sɔmbɔndhɔ (genetive or possessive) and sɔmbodhɔn (vocative) are not Karɔkɔ but pɔdɔ.

4 (*i*) W. S. Allen : Phonetics in Ancient India, p. 1-2., and also pratisakhyɔ (Ramchandra) Sidhanta Kaumudi (Bhattaji Dikhit), Laghu Kaumudi (Bharadaraja) etc. See also Allens Footnote *ibid.* p. 2.

(*ii*) Also Belvalkar : Systems of Sanskrit Grammar.

(*iii*) Also D. Abercrombie : Foregotten Phoneticions : T. P. S. 1948.

5 See (*i*) Dr. S. K. Chatterji : Soonkhipta Bhasha Prakash Bangla Byakaran, Bengal Publishers, Calcutta.

(*ii*) Dr. S. Sen and H. P. Ghosh :

(*iii*) Dr. S. Sen and Q. D. Muhammad : Abhinaba Bangla Byakaran, Book Centre, Dacca.

The Bengali teaching grammars of the present day are built up on a mixed frame work of Sanskrit grammars and English grammars. The Bengali grammars written in English by many eminent Scholars[6] are an attempt to handle Bengali grammar within the framework of a western pattern.

An attempt has been made in all Bengali grammar book to maintain the Sanskrit terminology while presenting a method of sentence analysis on the basis of the logical categories of subject and predicate. It is in the treatment of sentence analysis that the Bengali grammarians have overlooked the fact that "the grammar of a language consists of the devices that signal structural meanings"[7].

In all our grammar books it is the tradition to discuss in notional terms four sentence constructions under the heading of :

(*i*) Kɔrtri baccyɔ
(*ii*) Kɔrmɔ baccyɔ
(*iii*) bhabɔ baccyɔ
(*iv*) Kɔrmɔ kɔrtri bacbyɔ

In discussing these constructions, it is customary with the traditional grammarians to distinguish between two logical categories of the verb, namely, 'sɔkɔrmɔkɔ' or transitive and 'ɔkɔrmɔkɔ' or intransitive.

The 'Kɔrti baccyɔ' or Active Voice construction is associated with both 'sɔkɔrmɔkɔ' and 'ɔkɔrmɔkɔ' or transitive and intransitive verbs.

The 'Kɔrmɔ baccyɔ' or Passive Voice construction is associated only with 'sɔkɔrmɔkɔ' or transitive verb.

This is where the term 'baccyɔ' (Voice) is ascribed to the verb as referred to above.

6. Milne, Yeats, Beams, to mention a few recent books. Introduction to Colloquial Bengali by Sutton page is an excellent work in the modern line.

7. C. C. Fries : The Structure of English, 1952 ed. p. 56.

The 'bhabɔ baccyɔ' or impersonal construction and the 'Kɔrmɔ kɔrtri baccyɔ or middle or quasi-passive construction have been attributed to the intransitive verbs.

It has also been the tradition in Bengali grammar, to distinguish the transitive one, on the logical potentiality of the transitive verb to take a notional 'subject' and a notional 'object'. A logical approach to the establishment of linguistic categories, as for instance, establishing subject and object by putting the question 'who' and 'what' or 'whom' with the 'predicative word' is not unknown to the native Bengali grammarians.

Therefore, in order to discuss some main sentence structures in the Bengali language, I propose to select these four constructions already mentioned, which have been presented and analysed by the native grammarians in purely logical terms.

We are told in our native grammars that the subject of the finite verb of a sentence is in the nominative case and that the object of the active voice verb becomes the subject when the verb is in the passive voice. We are also told that the 'bhabɔ baccyɔ' and 'Kɔrmɔ kɔrtri baccyɔ' verbs take no subject[8].

These features can, however, be stated in a formal analysis wherein 'logical agreement ideas' will be paid little attention.

The contrast between the older traditional procedure of grammatical analysis and the approach used here lies in the fact that conventional analysis starts from the undifferentiated total meanings of an utterance and raises the question 'what names apply to various parts of the meanings' whereas this analysis of mine starts from a description of the structures that are present and the patterns that make them significant and arrives at the structural meanings as a result of the analysis.

It will be clear in the following discussion that the traditional

8. Definition of 'bhabɔ baccyɔ' and 'kɔrmɔ kɔrtri baccyɔ' as put forward by S. K. Chatterji in his Sankhipta Bhasha Probesh Bangla Byakaran.

classification of the sentence structures which depends on the notional assumption of the types of verb as transitive or intransitive on logical potentialities and the association of notional subject and object has not been accepted. The classification will mainly depend on the structural forms and their relation in the sentence.

For a formal analysis of the sentence construction mentioned above, I give below a few examples from spokeh Bengali in order to provide materials for discussion.

For convenience I have chosen examples with one person, one grade and one tense and one aspect only, namely third person, ordinary grade, simple present tense, habitual aspect. The verbal forms in this category in the sentence will be with-e ending.

Sentences chosen are all simple affirmative indicative verbal sentences.

(*a*) '*Kɔrtri baccyɔ*'

(*i*) Khoka boi pɔre

(*ii*) jelera mach dhɔre

(*iii*) cakɔr gachtri kate

(*iv*) meyjeti ataguli khae

(*b*) '*Kɔrmɔ baccyɔ*'

(*i*) Khokar boi pɔra hɔe

(*ii*) jeleder mach dhɔra hɔe

(*iii*) cakɔrer gachti kata hɔe

(*iv*) meyetir ataguli khawa hɔe

(*c*) '*bhabo baccyɔ*'

(*i*) Khokar dine ghumano hɔe

(*ii*) jeleder bajare jaoa hɔe

(*iii*) cakɔrer ekhane aSa hɔe

(*iv*) meyetir dupure Soa hɔe

(*d*) '*Kɔrmɔ kɔrtri baccyɔ*'

(*i*) Sit kɔre

(*ii*) biSti pɔre

(*iii*) ghɔntati baje

(*iv*) Kapɔr khani chire

In the above sentences, the grammatical elements of structure (*i.e.* the word classes) can be stated as follows :

(*a*) : (*i*), (*ii*), (*iii*) and (*iv*) Noun Noun Verb (N N V)

(*b*) : (*i*), (*ii*), (*iii*) and (*iv*) Noun Noun Verb (N N V)

(*c*) : (*i*), (*ii*), (*iii*) and (*iv*) Noun Noun Verb (N N V)

(*d*) : (*i*), (*ii*), (*iii*) and (*iv*) Noun Verb (N V)

The structures of groups (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) can be stated as constructed of three constituents, *viz*, nominal, nominal and verbal and those of group (*d*) constructed of two constituents, *viz*, nominal and verbal.

I give in tabular form an analysis of all these sixteen sentences on this formula.

In the formula following notations are used :

N^1=first nominal element,

N^2=Second nominal element,

V=Verbal element in the sentence

N(without any numerical notation)=Noun in the direct case.

The Postfix is shown by a hyphen.

		N^1		N^2		V	
		N	N P	N	N P	Simple	Compound
(*a*)	(*i*)	khoka		boi		pɔre	
	(*ii*)		jeler*a*	mach		dhɔre	
	(*iii*)	cakɔr			gachti	kate	
	(*iv*)		meyeti		phɔl*guli*	khae	
(*b*)	(*i*)		khoka-*r*	boi			pɔra hɔe
	(*ii*)		jele*der*	mach			dhɔra hɔe
	(*iii*)		cakɔr-er		gach*ti*		kata hɔe
	(*iv*)		meye-tir		phɔl *guli*		khawa hɔe
(*c*)	(*i*)		khoka-*r*		din *e*		ghumano hɔe
	(*ii*)		jele*der*		bajar *e*		jawa hɔe
	(*iii*)		cakɔr-er		ekhan-*e*		aSa hɔe
	(*iv*)		meye-tir	rat			jaga hɔe
(*d*)	(*i*)					kɔre	
	(*ii*)	Sit	ghɔnta*ti*			pɔre	
	(*iii*)		kapɔr-*khani*			baje	
	(*iv*)	biSri				ch ĩ re	

An analysis of these sentence structures enables us to establish two different types of constructions on formal evidence.

In group (*a*) : (*i*) both nouns are in direct case form.

(*ii*) N^1 is a post fixed form, while N^2 is in direct case form.

(*iii*) N^1 is in direct case form, while N^2 is a post fixed form.

(*iv*) both the nouns are post fixed form. The verb in this group in all the sentences is a simple finite verbal form.

In Group (*b*), N^1 in all the sentences is post fixed form. N^2 in sentences (*i*) and (*ii*) is in direct case form and in sentences (*iii*) and (*iv*) is post fixed form. The verb in this group is a combination of a non-finite plus a finite form of $\sqrt{\text{hɔ}}$.

In group (*c*), both the nouns in sentences (*i*), (*ii*) and (*iii*) are post fixed forms.

In sentence (*iv*), N^1 is post fixed form and N^2 is a direct case form.

The verb in all the sentences in this group is a combination of a non-finite form plus a finite form of $\sqrt{\text{hɔ}}$.

In group (*d*), the noun in sentences (*i*) and (*ii*) is in direct case form, and in sentences (*iii*) and (*iv*) is post fixed form.

The verb in all the sentences in this group is a simple finite verbal form.

A further study of the sentence structures of the groups (*a*) and (*b*) will show that :

In N^1 of group (*a*) a particular set of post fixes is possible. They are -ta, -ti-, -guli[8], -ra, -era, -e, -te etc.

In N^2 of group (*a*) a particular set of post fixes is possible. They are -ke, -re, -dige, -digɔke, -digere etc. and those mentioned for N^1 of this group. Double post fixes in this group are also found[9].

Verbs in this group will illustrate that they are characterized by all the endings of all aspects, tenses, persons, and grade.

In N^1 of group (*b*), a particular set of post fixes is possible. They are -r, -er, -der, -ke, -e, -te, -dara, -dia, -kɔrtrik[10] etc.

It should be noted that -r post fix is a particular feature with N^1 of this group. Other nouns in this group and nouns in group

8. There are two other realizations of this post fix.

9. Double post fixes occur in this order:

Two very rare Post-fixes, e.g. -der and -dere are also found in this group.

10. These three post fixes *e.g.* -dara, -dia, -kɔrtrik are found only in written 'sadhu bhasha'.

(*a*) can occur with or without a post fix, but N^1 of group (*b*) must take a post fix. And it is the **-r** post fix that alone always occurs.

In N^2 of group (*b*) construction the set of post fixes found for N_2 of group (*a*) construction is possible.

Verbs in this group will always be a combination of a non-finite form and a finite form of the √hɔ, and are characterized by all the endings of all aspects, tenses, persons and grades.

These structural features of the groups (*a*) and (*b*) can be formulated thus :

'( )' will indicate the possibility of either absence or presence of the element that is signified by the symbol within them[11].

F = Finite verbal form ;

NF=Non-finite verbal form.

	N^1	N^2	V	Paradignatic relation
I	N (P)	N (P)	(NF) F	
II	NP	N (P)	NF F √hɔ)	

Having thus established in colloquial Bengali two sentence constructions I & II, I shall henceforth use the term Active and Passive in order to refer to I and II constructions respectively.

It will have been seen in the course of this discussion that the 'bhabo baccyɔ' construction *i.e.* group (*c*) is similar in form (*i.e.* in pattern of verbal piece and in sentence structure), to the 'kɔrmɔ baccyɔ' or (*b*) construction. Similarly, the 'kɔrmɔ kɔrmɔ baccyɔ' or (*d*) construction is similar in form to the 'kɔrtri baccyɔ'

10. That is, the element outside the brackets with which they are used, can occur with or without the element that is signified by the symbols within the brackets.

or (*a*). That is to say, there is no formal distinction, at this level, between 'bhabo baccyɔ' or (*c*) and 'kɔrmɔ baccyɔ' or (*b*), and also between 'kɔrmɔ kɔrtri baccyɔ' or (*d*) and 'kɔrtri baccyɔ' or (*a*).

In consideration of the noun and the verb, I propose to treat the group (*c*) in the Passive construction, and group (*d*) in the non-passive construction.

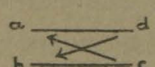
In an examination of some N N V sentence structures in colloquial Bengali, therefore, two constructions :

I. Active,
II. Passive

can be formulated on a formal basis. The active construction is characterized in its noun or nouns being with or without a post-fix of a certain set, and the verb being inflected according to the aspect, tense, person and grade.

The passive construction is characterized in its first noun being always with a post fix of certain set, in which -r is a characteristic feature, and the second noun with or without a post fix, and the verb is in the non-finite plus finite verb forms of the stem $\sqrt{\text{h ɔ}}$ inflected according to tense and aspect. The finite verb in this construction is always in the third person F/O grade.

It is also to be noted that 'bhabo baccyɔ' [(*c*) construction] has a corresponding 'kɔrtri baccyɔ' [(*a*) construction], and 'kɔrmɔ kɔrtri baccyɔ [(*d*) construction] has a corresponding 'kɔrmɔ baccyɔ' [(*b*) construction], which may be shown as



It will be seen that these two constructions set according to our analysis cover all the six constructions (*e.g.* (*i*) kɔrtri baccyɔ', (*ii*) 'kɔrmɔ baccyɔ', (*iii*) 'bhabo baccyɔ', (*iv*) kɔrmɔ kɔrtri baccyɔ', (*v*) kɔrtri of 'bhabo baccyɔ' and (*vi*) kɔrmɔ of kɔrmɔ kɔrtri baccyɔ' presented in logical and notional terms by the native grammarians for Bengali.

These sentence types are basic for the analysis of longer structures as well as shorter ones at this level. In case of a sentence containing only one noun (nominal unit), the noun may either be N^1 or N^2 of either construction—Active or Passive, which will be recognised by the presence or absence of a postfix of a certain set, and also by the context.

In the case of a sentence containing only one verb, the verb may either be a simple, finite verbal form, or non-finite plus a finite verbal form inflected for tense, person and grade.

In the passive construction the finite verb form is always formed from the stem $\sqrt{\text{hɔ}}$[12] (*i.e.* one of a set of passive finite forms), and is always in the third person, O/F grade, in addition to a non-finite form preceding.

12. Details of passive verbal forms will not be discussed here.

Teaching Bengali to Urdu Speakers

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Language Specialist,
Education Extension Centre, Lahore.

o. Introduction
I. Problems of Pronunciation
II. Problems of Vocabulary
III. Problems of Structures
IV. Problems of Writing
V. Problems of Culture
VI. Concluding Remarks.

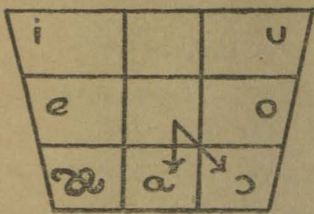
o. In December 1961, I presented a paper on *Teaching Urdu to Bengali Speakers*, in the First All-Pakistan Urdu Tadrees Conference. That paper as well as the present one are based on the structural comparison of Lahore Standard Urdu and Dacca Standard Bengali analysed respectively by Prof. Anwar S. Dil and the author of this paper. The basic theory of teaching and learning a second language is the same as presented in my earlier paper : a) Teaching materials are more important than teaching methods, b) Scientific teaching materials are based on a systematic structural comparison of the second language and the first language of the students on the levels of the sound systems, vocabulary, structural systems, writing systems, and cultural systems, c) The dissimilarities between the two languages will determine the different levels of problems of teaching and learning a second set of language habits against an already formed set of habits of the first language, d) Language is speech. Its comprehension and production will be taught and learnt by the most economical and effective method of providing model speech for imitation and

repitition through teacher-student and student-student dialogue and pattern practice, till the control of the structures, with near-native pronunciation, becomes automatic, e) The student will be said to have learnt the second language when within a limited vocabulary he has mastered its sound system and the structural system so as to understand and make himself understood by the native speakers in common everyday situations, f) Reading and writing will follow the oral control.

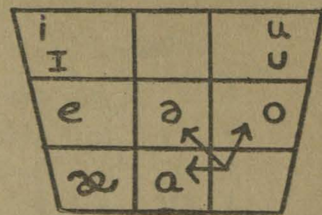
1. A comparative study of the phonemic systems of Urdu and Bengali shows that Urdu has similar sounds for all the consonant sounds in Bengali, though the frequency of occurrence of these sounds varies in the two languages.

There are seven vowel phonemes in Bengali and nine in Urdu, but these nine vowel sounds in Urdu have only six vowel sounds similar to those in Bengali—the low back vowel sound /ɔ/ as in English /ɔl/ (all), or in Bengali /p^{h} ɔl/ (fruit), is absent in Urdu except in diphthongs in some dialects. As a result, all the Bengali words having /ɔ/ initially, medially or finally, will be a pronunciation problem for Urdu speakers. Moreover, the general characteristic of a Bengali vowel sound is that it is enlongated in monosyllabic words, *e.g.* the vowel sound in Bengali /din/ (day) will tend to be longer than the initial vowel sound in Bengali /dinguli/ (days). This tendency of enlongating a vowel sound in monosyllabic words is not noticeable in Urdu. Urdu, on the other hand, has two phonemes : /ɪ/ and /i/ as in /mɪl/ (meet) and/mil/ (mile). The frequency count of the vowel sounds in Urdu shows that the most frequent vowel sound in Urdu is the mid-central sound /ə/. As a result, an Urdu speaker learning Bengali will tend to substitute /ə/ for the Bengali sound /a/, *e. g.* /əmər/ for /amar/ (mine) and /əmader/ for /amader/ (ours). For the Bengali sound /ɔ/, which is not used in Urdu, an Urdu speaker will tend to substitute /o/, /ə/ or /a/, as in /onek/ for /ɔnek/ (many), /rəŋ/ for /rɔŋ/ (colour), and /bak/ for /bɔk/ (crane).

Bengali



Urdu



There are a number of words which have similar forms in Bengali and Urdu. Whether these words are Urdu or Bengali in origin, is of not concern for the purposes of the present paper. It is important to bear in mind that when an Urdu speaker speaks Bengali and uses the 'Urdu pronunciation' of Bengali utterances, he will be said to have mispronounced them. For example, the Urdu word : /ɑrz/ (request) is pronounced as : /arɔj/, in Bengali. An Urdu speaker must use /arɔj/ and not /ərz/ when speaking Bengali, otherwise it will be a case of mispronunciation. Similar would be the case with :

Bengali	Urdu	Meaning
/kʰ ɔbor/	/xəbɔr/	news
/kʰ andan/	/xandan/	family
/mejaj/	/mɪzaj/	mood
/gorib/	/ ɣ ərib/	poor

In Bengali there is no phoneme /z/. There is a similar sound which is an allophone of /j/ in certain distributions. As a result, Bengali speakers tend to substitute z in place of j in Urdu words and j for z. This fact causes confusion for Urdu speakers learning Bengali. The force of the speech habits of their first language causes friction when they are trying to substitute a new set of habits while speaking Bengali. Their insistence on speaking such words with Urdu pronunciation makes them 'mispronounce' them so far as Bengali speech is concerned.

A comparison of the syllable patterns of the two languages shows that there are more syllable structures in Bengali than in

Urdu. The patterns of syllables are :
(V represents Vowel and C represents Consonant).

Bengali				Urdu			
1.	V	/e/	(this)	1.	V	/a/	(come)
2.	$\widehat{VV}$	/ei/	(this)	2.	$\widehat{VV}$	/ao/	(come)
3.	VC	/k/	(one)	3.	VC	/ek/	(one)
4.	CV	/ki/	(what)	4.	CV	/ja/	(go)
5.	CVC	/jal/	(net)	5.	CVC	/jal/	(net)
6.	CCV	/sri/	(beauty)	6.	CCV	/kya/	(what)
7.	C$\widehat{VV}$	/jao/	(go)	7.	C$\widehat{VV}$	/jao/	(go)
8.	CCVC	/pran/	(life)	8.	VCC	/umr/	(age)
9.	CCCV	/stri/	(wife)	9.	CVCC	/jɪsm/	(body)
10.	CC$\widehat{VV}$	/prae/	about)				

The first seven syllable structures in Urdu and Bengali, as shown above, are similar. These patterns, therefore, will present no teaching or learning problem for an Urdu speaker or a Bengali speaker in learning each other's language. But the last three patterns of Bengali : CCVC, CCCV and CC$\widehat{VV}$, will be learning problems for an Urdu speaker. We have shown above CCV as a syllable structure in Urdu but our analysis shows that there are only a very limited number of Urdu syllables which have this structure—including a number of syllables having 'y' which is a semi-vowel, counted as a consonant. In some dialects of Urdu this syllable structure does not appear at all. It may be taken that CCV pattern of Bengali will also be a problem area. This area needs great caution because there will be some initial consonant clusters in Bengali which will be very hard to control by an Urdu speaker. There are a fairly large number of initial consonant clusters in Bengali ; though they are mostly used in 'Shuddho Bhasha.'

1. Voiceless stops + /l/ or /r/ :

/pl/	/plabɔn/	(flood)
/p^h l/	/p^h lanel/	(flannel, loan word)

/pr/	/priyo/	(dear)
/tr/	/traS/	(fear)

[/S/ represent *sh* sound as in English *bush*]

/ṭr/	/ṭrak/	(truck, loan word)
/kl/	/klanto/	(tired)
/kr/	/kripon/	(miser)

2. Voiced stops + /l/ or /r/ :

/bl/	/blauj/	(blouse, loan word)
/br/	/broto/	(aim)
/dr/	/drobbo/	(article)
/gl/	/glani/	(heaviness of mind)
/gr/	/gram/	(village)
/b^{h} r/	/b^{h} ranti/	(mistake)

3. Sibilant /s/ + other consonants :

/sp/	/spoSto/	(clear)
/st/	/stɔbd^{h}o/	(still)
/sp^{h} /	/sp^{h} ɔṭik/	(crystal)
/st^{h} /	/st^{h} ɔbir/	(superannuated)
/sk/	/skɔnd^{h}o/	(shoulder)
/sk^{h} /	/sk^{h} ɔlon/	(fall)
/sl/	/sleS/	(mockery)
/sr/	/srom/	(labour)
/sn/	/snan/	(bath)

4. Other clusters :

/nr/	/nripo/	(king)
/mr/	/mrito/	(dead)
/mr/	/mlan/	(dull)

5. Clusters of three consonants :

/spr/	/spriha/	(will, decree)
/str/	/stri/	(wife)
/skr/	/skru/	(screw, loan word)
/spl/	/splisto/	(crushed)

Generally speaking, people confuse the learning of a language with the learning of words or vocabulary items, because

the mastery of this aspect of a first language is always more conscious and perceptible than say the mastery of the basic sounds or structures. Urdu and Bengali are both members of the Indo-Iranian family and are spoken in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent by people who have always had very close relations, so the two languages have borrowed very freely from each other. This is both an advantage and a disadvantage for a speaker of one language learning another. The problems can be broadly classified as follows :

(*a*) When both Bengali and Urdu have a vocabulary item having nearly the same form, the same meaning and the same distribution, in the two languages, there is no problem at all—no teaching or learning is necessary in the case of such cognates. For example, /pani/ (water), /rat/ (night).

(*b*) When the vocabulary item is typically Bengali, the problem is of learning a new word, which involves a simple process of learning a new thing. For example, /pukur/ (pond), /gach / (tree).

(*c*) When both Bengali and Urdu have a lexical item having the same meaning and distribution but there is difference in the form of the word in the two languages, the problem will be rather complex because the learner will tend to carry over the form of the word in his first language and thereby experience the difficulty of first learning to ignore the form in his first language while speaking the second language, and secondly, to learn the different form in the second language. For example, /asman/ (sky) /zəmin/ (earth), /ka ɣ əz/ (paper), and /roṭi/ (bread) are vocabulary items in Urdu which except for differences in forms, have the same meaning and distribution in Bengali. It is important for an Urdu speaker learning Bengali to learn to say /aSman/ for /asman/, (jɔmin/ for /zəmin/, kagɔj/ for /ka ɣ əz/ and /ruṭi/ for /roṭi/,

in Bengali speech, otherwise he would be said not to have learnt to pronounce the Bengali words properly.

(*d*) When a word has similar form and same meaning but different distribution in the two languages, the problem will be for a student to learn to restrict himself in the use of the word to the distribution in the areas that are common to both languages and to learn the new areas of distribution in the second language and to unlearn the use of the word in the areas where the second language has no distribution as compared with the first language. For example, the Urdu word /∂mma/ (mother) has, for instance, the distribution to mean 'an old woman'. Bengali uses the word primarily to mean 'mother' and secondarily to mean 'daughter'. Whereas there will be no problem regarding the meaning of 'mother' in the two languages, a Bengali speaker will find it difficult to adjust to the meaning of 'an old woman' in Urdu, as much as an Urdu speaker will consider it 'strange' to address his 'daughter' as his 'mother'.

The Urdu word /kəmiz/ (shirt) has its Bengali counterpart /kamij/ but it has a limited distribution in that it refers only to shirts worn by ladies. Therefore when an Urdu *male* speaker says : /amar kamij kot^{h} ae/, it would sound strange to a Bengali speaker, even if the pronunciation etc. is all correct in this utterance.

(*e*) When two words have similar forms but different meanings, they would cause serious learning problems. Special attention will have to be given in teaching and learning such 'false friends'. For example, Urdu /dərya/ means river, /mez/ means table, /g^{h} ər/ means house, /mat^{h} a/ means forehead, whereas in Bengali /dorya/means sea, /mej/ means 'floor', /g^{h} ɔr/ means 'room', /maɩ^{h} a/ means 'head'. /əpni/ in Urdu means 'ones own' but in Bengali /apni/ means 'you', therefore, this word is a very hard

one to master on the part of Urdu speakers learning Bengali. I have observed that Urdu speakers invariably tend to substitute /apni/ in place of /ami/ meaning 'I'.

III. A comparison of the structural patterns of Bengali and Urdu shows that both the languages have the same over-all classification of different types of utterances : a) Greetings, b) Calls, c) Requests and commands, d) Questions, and, e) Statements. Also both languages have similar parts of speech : Noun, Verb, Adjective, Adverb and Function Words. Word order and Inflections both play a large part in the structural meaning of utterances and in both the languages, the general pattern of a statement is : Noun followed by Verb.

Urdu : /mæ̃ne us lərke ko bohət ḍaṭa/ (I scloded that boy very much)

Bengali : /ami Se c^h eleke k^h ub Suniechi/

The verb comes at the end of utterance ; the adverb precedes the verb ; the object follows the subject; and the subject as a 'performer' starts the utterance.

But there the similarity ends. For an Urdu speaker there will be no change in thc main verb form if we change the person of the subject. For example,

/həm/ (we)
/tum/ (you, singular or informal)
/ap/ (you, plural or singular honorific)
/us/ (he)
/un hõ/ (they, honorific he)
/mæ̃/ (I)

} ne us lərke ko bohət ḍ ã ṭa

The form of the verb will remain unchanged if the time referred to remains the same. But in Bengali, the verb will change its form with the change of person—though not with number. For example,

First person : /ami Sec^h eleke k^h ub Suniec^h i/
/amra ... ... " /

Second person :	/tumi	...	...	...	Suniec ho/
	/tumra	...	...	...	„ /
Third person :	/Se	...	...	...	Suniech e/
	/tara	...	...	...	„ /

The verb forms will be inflected for tenses :

/amra /ami	Se ch eleke kh ub	Sunabo	Suniech ilam/
/tumi /tomra	„ „	Sunabe	Suniech ile/
/Se /tara	„ „	Sunabe	Suniech ilo/

The verb forms are inflected in Urdu as well but because the inflection patterns are different in Bengali, the Urdu speaker is often confused in the use of the right Bengali inflections. In my experimental classes I have repeatedly heard Urdu speakers say /apni Sunabo/ for /ami Sunbo/ and /tumi Sunabo/ for /tumi Sunabe/.

The negative statements and questions offer a stubborn problem to Urdu speakers. In Bengali statements and questions the negative function word always comes at the end of the utterance, and whenever it changes its position it causes a change in meaning. For example,

/Se porte pare na/	(He can not read)
/Se na pare prote/	(He doesn't even know to read besides many other things)
/Se porte na pare/	(Even if he can not read . . . .)
/Se na porte pare/	(He may not read)

In Urdu, the negative function word always comes before the verb, except when expressing stylistic shades, and an Urdu speaker, therefore, while making negative statements in Bengali tends to put the negative function word before the verb and not at the end of the utterance, resulting in a definite change in meaning. Moreover, the Urdu negative function words do not change

their forms with the change of tenses as is the case in Bengali. For example,

/ami jani na/ (I do not know)
/ami jani ni/ (I did not know)

The correct use of /na/ and /ni/ to correlate with different tenses is a difficult problem for Urdu speakers.

The basic question pattern in Bengali is no problem because its Urdu counterpart is more or less similar. For example, Urdu /voh gya/ (He went) with an end-falling intonation is a statement which becomes a question when it is spoken with an end-rising intonation. Similarly, /Se gælo/ (He went) also becomes a question when spoken with an end-rising intonation. In both Urdu and Bengali the basic stetement pattern : Noun followed by Verb with an end-falling intonation becomes the basis question pattern noun followed by verb with an end rising intonation.

IV. The Bengali writing system is perhaps the most serious psychological barrier for Urdu speakers in learning Bengali. Bengali does not use the Arabic Script and because of the historical fact of the closeness of its script to the Devnagari script, it has earned a sort of prejudice against itself. Infact, I have often heard it said that Bengali is a Hindu language. This is wrong ; because no language is 'Muslim' or 'Hindu' or for that matter 'Christian' or 'Buddhist'.

An Urdu speaker will find it hard to learn Bengali script as a result of such prejudices, unless he guards himself against them. After this is done it remains simply a matter of learning to identify, in the case of reading, and reproduce, in the case of writing, a set of accepted symbols for the sounds and sound patterns of Bengali. This process can be made very simple on the basis of research in the field of Graphemics of Bengali, conducted by the author, and used in the experimental class in which only six hours of work enabled the students to read elementary books and write simple utterances. The

fact that Urdu script is so different from Bengali script is no problem; infact, it makes the learning process a simple one with no interference whatsoever from the writing system of the first language of the learner.

V. Any language can be said to have been taught and learnt properly only if the learner has acquired sufficient understanding of the cultural pattern of that language community. It is commonly observed that a lot of embarrasment, confusion and misunderstanhing results simply because of using a word or an utterance in the second language, without a proper knowledge of its socio-cultural import. Scientific language teaching and learning must take into account this very important area which has not so far received the attention of text-book writers and teachers. For example, Colloquial Bengali does not have a word for /Sukriə/ (Thank you) ; /d^{h} ɔnnobad/ conveying the same meaning in Bengali is restricted in its use to written language or very formal specch. This does not mean that Bengali speakers do not have any concept of expressing thanks in their culture. They do it in other ways than its expression by a word. In Urdu, on the other hand, words like /Sukriə/ or (mehrbani/ have a fairly high frequency of occurrence. It is inevitable, therefore, that an Urdu speaker will consider Bengali speakers rather *thankless*, and a Bengali speaker will reciprocate by thinking that Urdu speakers are unnecessarily *thank-ful.* A good leaner of a second language is one who is a *student* and not a *judge* of the peculiarities of the second language and culture.

Again, /hã/ in Urdu means 'yes' but you use the word /ji/ to show politeness and respect to the speaker or even to imply your own cultural sophistication. It would be considered very rude of a person if says /hã/ to his parents or his seniors in which case /ji/ is a must. But in Bengali culture /hã/ has the total meaning covered by both /hã/ and /ji/ in Urdu culture. This often results in a lot

of embarrasment and misunderstanding when a Bengali is speaking Urdu. An Urdu speaker learning Bengali can get along with his /ji/ quite well but it is important for him to learn to accept /hã/ as equally polite response in his conversation with a Bengali speaker.

VI. These observations have been presented in this form primarily with a view to introduce a new approach to the problem of teaching and learning Bengali in Urdu speaking areas. This presentation is purely of an introductory nature and presents only a few items from the materials being prepared jointly by Prof. Anwar S. Dil and the author of this paper. It is hoped that the publication of our research should provide a sound linguistic basis for writing new textbooks, teachers manuals and the preparation of other materials necessary for teaching Bengali to Urdu speakers and Urdu to Bengali speakers. At the moment the pace of our work is very slow because we do not have facilities to undertake it as a full-time research project. Our research has obvious possibilities of developing into a big undertaking for preparing teaching materials for teaching any second language to Bengali and Urdu speakers in Pakistan and teaching Urdu and Bengali, the two national languages of Pakistan, to speakers of any other language. We would like to invite all interested to extend their co-operation for developing this modest undertaking into a worthwhile project.

A Study of Urdu* Noun Phrase Types

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0. The assumptions underlying this work are based on studies in Structural Linguistics and Tagmemics.[1]

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*Urdu, in this paper, refers to the Standard Colloquial Urdu as spoken by the educated middle class persons in Lahore who are bilingual speakers of Panjabi and Urdu This dialect of Urdu is most widely understood and spoken in West Pakistan and is nearest to the from of Urdu which is the *lingua franca* of West Pakistan. The author is a native speaker of this dialect of Urdu and is his own informant for the data used in this study. The speeeh of some other native speakers of this dialect was also recorded for checking up certain points.

1. Books and papers that have been consulted in connection with the preparation of this paper include:

Kenneth L. Pike:

Language in Relation with a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour (Part I, 1954; Part II, 1955; Part III, 1960. Summer Institute of Linguistics, California).

Grammemic Theory in Reference to Restricted Problems of Morphemic Classes (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, July 1957. Pp. 119-128). [contd.]

I. In the following test frame all the words that can be substituted for the word /admi/(man) with no change of structural meaning can be classified as belonging to the Noun class of Urdu words. In view of the concordance among Noun, Verb and Adjective in Urdu utterances for both gender and number, necessary inflectional adjustments have been provided in the test frame so as to accommodate all nouns—masculine and feminine, in their singular and plural forms.

Robert E. Longacre:

Syntax Procedures, especially its part: *'Preliminary Procedures for Phrase Analysis'* (Summer Institute of Linguistics, Norman, Oklahoma, 1958).

String Constituent Analysis (*Language*, Vol. 36, No. 1, Part I, January-March, 1960. Pp. 63-88).

Clarence and Katherine Church:

The Jacaltec Noun Phrase (Unpublished paper).

Charles C. Fries :

The Structure of English (Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1952).

Tagmemics, as developed in recent years by Professor Keneth L. Pike, offers the concept of Tagmeme as the third minimal unit of linguistic structure with a view to provide better techniques for grammatical analyis. Tagmeme is in Syntax what a phoneme is in phonology and a morpheme is in morphology.

Pike describes a tagmeme as "a minimum functional segment of a sentence type in which the sentence type is divided according to grammatically functional parts rather than into phonological parts or lexical parts". This concept of "functional segements of a sentence type" is further defined as "the functional slot with its class filler."

This slot-class concept becomes the basis of grammatical analysis. Tagma is a preliminarily identified slot-class. It becomes a tagmeme after complete analysis. Tagma is to a tagmeme what a phone is to a phoneme or a morph is to a morpheme.

admi	əccʰ a (good—masculine, singular)	tʰ a (was—mas.sing.)
(*a*) ləṛki	əccʰ i (good—feminine, sing.)	tʰ i(was—fem.sing.)
(*b*) bəcce		
(*c*) gʰ oṛe	əccʰ e (good—mas.pl.)	tʰ e(were—mas. pl.)
(*d*) kUtte		
(*e*) Ser	əccʰ i (good—fem.pl.)	tʰ ĩ (were—fem. pl.)
(*f*) jana		
(*g*) sona		
(*h*) rəbəṛ		
(*i*) bəs		

This concept of identifying various parts of speech as used by Prof. Charles C. Fries in his *The Structure of English* (1952), provides a dependable test whereby we can get a large open class of words that have a similar function in the structure of Urdu language. A word belonging to this list in the above test frame will be called a Noun in Urdu language. According to this *structural definition* of an Urdu Noun, all infinitives [see (*f*) and (*g*) above] belong to this class. For the purposes of the present paper, however, the infinitives in the above class have been excluded from the study. The formal criterion whereby the Infinitive sub-class of the Urdu Noun class is excluded from examination is that all Urdu nouns except the Infinitives can take the — õ inflection before postpositions. The Infinitive sub-class differs from all other nouns in one other feature that members of this sub-class can take objects like verbs, e.g.

/bolna zəruri hæ/

(speaking essential is)

/rəssa zəruri hæ/

(rope essential is)

/rəssõ ki hɪfazət zəruri hæ/

(ropes of protection essential is)

/rəssa/ can take the — õ inflection before the postposition /ki/ but /bolna/ cannot do so.

All members of the Infinitive sub-class of Nouns have the —na ending which when dropped gives the root forms of Urdu verbs, e.g.

/jana/ /ja/
(going) (go)
/pina/ /pi/
(drinking) (drink)

Our reason in eliminating Infinitives from this study is that it would require the description of verbs and verbal constructions which is beyond the scope of the present paper.

To sum up, therefore, a workable definition of a Noun for the purposes of the present paper is : A word that belongs to the class of words that can fill the slot /admi/ in the above test frame and take the —õ inflection before the postpositions : /ka/, /se/, /pər/, /tək/, /mẽ/, /ne/ and /ko/. Out of these postpositions /ka/ has two other forms /ki/ and /ke/ to accommodate the gender and number concordance. All other postpositions have only one form. The following combinations of postpositions are also possible in which case together they are treated as a single Compound-Postposition : /mẽ se/ and /pər se/.

Pronouns as a sub-class of nouns, even though they do not take the — õ inflection before the postpositions given above, are included in the present study because of their very important function as noun substitutes in the Urdu Noun Phrase structure.

II. A further study of our test frame : /admi əcch a hæ/ shows that not only a single word belonging to the noun class can go in the slot filled by /admi/ but also larger constructions can fit in. For example,

/kɪtab/	əcch i hæ
(book)	(good is)

/meri kɪtab/
(my book)
/bəṛi kɪtab/
(big book)
/ek kɪtab/
(one book)
/admi ki kɪtab/
(man's book)
/admi ki ek kɪtab/
(man's one book)
/admi ki ek bəṛi kɪtab/
(man's one big book)
/admi ki ek bəṛi ɔUr xubsurət kɪtab/
(man's one big and beautiful book)

Such constructions are called Noun Phrases.

A tentative definition of an Urdu Noun Phrase is: An endo-centric construction consisting of a noun as head and one or more modifiers as its attributes.

An important characteristic of an Urdu Noun Phrase is that it may or may not have a postposition. For example,

	N (Noun)		PP (Postposition)
meri	kitab	±	pər
(my)	(book)		(on)
əcch i			
(good)			

Therefore the formula of an Urdu Noun Phrase Head is :

PH=N±PP

i e. Urdu Noun Phrase Head equals Noun plus minus Postposition. Further, the head of an Urdu Noun Phrase always occurs at the end of the phrase.

All that precedes the Phrase Head (PH) in an Urdu Noun Phrase (NP) will be called Modifier (M).

The general formula of Urdu Noun Phrase is :

$$NP = \pm M + PH$$

i.e. Noun Phrase equals plus minus Modifier plus Phrase Head. According to this formula a minimum noun phrase in Urdu will be a noun plus minus a postposition.

III. For a demonstration study of Urdu noun phrase let us take a noun /kɪtab/ (book) as PH and study the various possible modifiers, their types and their relative orders of occurrence in different phrases.

	kɪtab (book)
	bɪtab ẽ (books)
/əccʰ i/ (good)	
/meri/ (my)	
/meri əccʰ i/ (my good)	
/koi/ (any)	
/kəi/ (several)	
/kUcʰ / (some)	
/ek / (one)	
/tin/ (three)	
/aṭʰ / (eight)	
/meri koi/ (my any)	
/meri tin/ (my three)	
/meri ek əccʰ i/ (my one good)	

/ek bohət əcch i/ (one very good)

/meri ek bohət əcch i/ (my one very good)

/bohət zyda əcch i/ (very much good)

/meri ek bohət zyada əcch i/
(my one very much good)

/meri kuch bohət zyada əcch i/
(my some very much good)

/kəm/ (few, little)

/nɪhayət kəm/ (very few, very little)

/bohət əcch i/ (very good)

/meri bohət əcch i/ (my very good)

/meri kəi bohət əcch i/ (my several very good)

/yɪh/ (this)

(voh/ (that)

/yɪh əcch i/ (this good)

/yɪh bohət əcch i/ (this very good)

/meri yɪh bohət əcch i/ (my this very good)

/meri yɪh tin bohət əcch i/ (my these three very good)

/ləṛki ki/ (girl's)

/lərki ki ek/ (girl's one)

/lərki ki ek əcch i/ (girl's one good)

/ləṛki ki ek bohət əcch i/ (girl's one very good)

/ləṛki ki ek bohət zyada əcch i/
(girl's one very much good)

/xubsurət/ (beautiful)

/moṭi xubsurət/ (fat beautiful)

/pili moṭi xubsurət/ (yellow fat beautiful)

/pili ɔ͡Ur moṭi/ (yellow and fat)

/voh ek bohət zyada əcch i ɔ͡Ur pəsəndida/
(that one very much good and popular)

IV. A study of the data collected by the author, shows that the following types of noun phrases can be identified on the basis of their internal structure and manifesting tagmemes.

IV. 1. Phrase type one is: MODIFIER HEAD NOUN PHRASE. It comprises a Head tagmeme preceded by a plus Qualifier tagmeme plus minus Intensifier tagmeme plus minus Quantifier tagmeme plus minus Demonstrative tagmeme. The Head tagmeme of this phrase type is manifested by a noun plus minus a simple or compound postposition as given above.

MH NOUN PHRASE $= \pm D \pm Qn \pm I + QI + H$

The obligatory tagmeme is the Head tagmeme (H).

Examples of the minimum structure of MH Noun phrase type are:

(*a*) Qualifier-Head (QI H):

/əcch i kɪtab/ (good book)

/xubsurət Sehr/ (beautiful city)

(*b*) Quantifier-Head (Qn H):

/sat kɪtabẽ/ (seven books)

/cənd admi/ (some men)

(*c*) Demonstrative-Head (D H):

/yɪh kɪtab/ (this book)

/voh ləṛka/ (that boy)

Examples of expanded MH Noun phrase type are :

(*d*) Intensifier-Qualifier-Head (I QI H) :

/bohət əcch i kɪtab/ (very good book)

/nɪhayət xubsurət Sehr/ (extremely beautiful city)

(*e*) Quantifier-Qualifier-Head (Qn QI H) :

/ek əcch i kɪtab/ (one good book)

/kUch xubsurət ph ul/ (some beautiful flowers)

(*f*) Demonstrative-Qualifier-Head (D QI H) :

/yɪh əcch i kɪtab/ (this good book)

/voh xubsurət ph ul/ (that beautiful flower)

(*g*) Quantifier-Intensifier-Qualifier-Head (Qn I QI H) :

/ek bohət əcch i kɪtab/ (one very good book)

/kəi nɪhayət xubsurət Sehr/ (several extremely beautiful cities)

(*h*) Demonstrative-Intensifier-Qualifier-Head (D I QI H):

/yɪh bohət əcch i kɪtab/ (this very good book)

/voh nihayət xubsurət ph ul/ (that extremely beautiful flower)

(*i*) Demonstrative-Quantifier-Intensifier-Qualifier-Head (D Qn I QI H) :

/yɪh ek bohət xubsurət kɪtab/ (this one very beautiful book)

/voh cənd nɪhayət Sərir ləṛke/ (those few extremely naughty boys)

The relative order of these tagmemes in this phrase type as given above is fixed.

These tagmemes are defined below.

IV. 1-A. The Head tagmeme is manifested by a noun which always comes at the end of an MH Noun Phrase. The Head tagmeme will be represented by H in the present paper.

H = N

N represents all nouns that function as PH as described above.

IV. 1-B. The Qualifier tagmeme is manifested by a noun, an adjective or an allowable attributive expression. It must always precede the Head tagmeme. It is not obligatory in an MH phrase type. It will be represented by QI in the present paper. There is concordance of gender and number between the adjective qualifying the following noun e.g., /kɪtab/ is feminine and singular so /əcch i/ feminine and singular, will precede it. In the case of /ləṛka/, masculine and singular, /əcch a/, masculine and singular form, will precede it. For /ləṛke/, masculine and plural, /əcch e/, masculine and plural form, will be used etc.

/pili moṭi kɪtab/ (yellow fat book)

/pili ɔ͡Ur moṭi kɪtab/ (yellow and fat book)

Phrases like the above show that the Qualifier tagmeme may comprise an allowable attributive expression i.e. the adjectives having the same concordance with the following noun may occur with or without an intervening function word of the conjunctive sub-group. The Qualifier tagmeme is represented as QI in this paper.

IV. 1-C. The Intensifier tagmeme is manifested by words that fill the slot of /bohdt/ in the following test frame :

/voh ek	bohət (very) nɪhayət (extreme) kəm (less) bəṛa (much) zyada (more) kəmal (extreme)	əcch a ləṛka hæ/

The Intensifier tagmeme must precede the Qualifier tagmeme without which it can not occur in any Urdu noun phrase. For example, /nɪhayət ləṛka/ can not occur, but /nɪhayət əcch a ləṛka/ is always acceptable. Some words manifesting Intensifiers,

however, can also manifest Quantifiers and when they do so they are Quantifiers and not Intensifiers in the structure of Urdu noun phrases. For example,

(*a*) /bohət əccʰ a ləṛka/
(very)

(*b*) /bohət ləṛke/
(many)

show the difference that in (*a*) /bohət/ is an Intensifier and in (*b*) it is an Quantifier. The Intensifier tagmeme is represented as I in this paper.

IV. 1-D. The Quantifier tagmeme is manifested by numerals and some words denoting quantity. For example,

/ek ləṛka/	(one)
/tin ləṛke/	(three)
/cənd ləṛke/	(few)
/kUcʰ ləṛke/	(some)
/kəi ləṛke/	(several)

Some more quantifiers, apart from the numerals, are: /səb/, /kUl/, /bohət se/, /tʰ oṛe/. These are called Indefinite Quantifiers. All numerals are called the Definite Quantifiers. The Urdu numeral system exhibits additive and subtractive relationships with morphophonemic changes, in addition to the following unit numerals : /ek/ (one), /do/ (two), /tin/ (three), /car/ (four), /pac̆/ (five), /cʰ e/ (six), /sat/ (seven), /aṭʰ / (eight), /nɔ͡U/ (nine), dəs/ (ten), /bis/ (twenty), /tis/ (thirty), /calis/ (forty), /pəccas/ (fifty), /saṭʰ / (sixty), /səttər/ (seventy), /əssi/ (eighty), /nəvve/ (ninety), /sɔ͡U/ (hundred), /həzar/ (thousand), /lakʰ / (hundred thousand), /kəroṛ/ (ten million). For example,

Additive : /cʰ e alis/ (forty-six)
/ɪksəṭʰ / (sixty-one)

Subtactive : /Uncas/ (forty-nine)
/Unsəṭʰ / (fifty-nine)

The system from one to ninty-nine is to be learnt seriatim because of several irregularities which occur in an otherwise quite regular system. The system is regularly additive after the first hundred.

The numerals can occur repititively in which case they indicate distributiveness. For example,

/c^{h}e c^{h}e admi/
(six six men) means (men by sixes)
/ek ek ləṛki/
(one one girl) means (one by one girl)

By adding— vā inflection to the numerals, excepting /ek/, /do/, /tin/, /car/, /c^{h} e/, the Quantifiers indicate order. For example,

/satvā admi/ (seventh man)
/baisvā g^{h} ər/ (twenty second house)

The irregular ones given above take the following forms :

/ek/ /pehla/ (first)
/do/ /dusra/ (second)
/tin/ /tisra/ (third)
/car/ /cot^{h} a/ (fourth)
/c^{h} e/ /c^{h} əṭa/ (sixth)

Numerals can take—ō inflection to indicate totality. For example,

/tin/ /tinō/ (all the three)
/c^{h} e/ /c^{h} eō/ (all the six)

Numerals can take —gUna inflection with some morphophonemic changes to indicate relativity. For example,

/do/ /dUgna/ (twice as much as......)
/c^{h} e/ /c^{h} e gUna/ (six times)

Fractional numerals in Urdu are:

/pao/ (one fourth—weight)
/cot^{h} ai/ (one fourth—length)
/tihai/ (one third)

/adh a/ (one half)

/pɔ͡Un/ (three fourth)

/səva/ (one and a quarter)

/ḍeṛh / (one and a half)

/ḍh ai or əṛh ai/ (two and a half)

/səva do/ (two and a quarter)

/pɔ͡Une tin/ (quarter to three)

/ek bəṭa sat/ (one over seven)

/do bəṭe sat/ (two over seven)

The Quantifier tagmeme is represented as Qn in this paper,

IV. 1-E. The Demonstrative tagmeme is manifested by either of the two demonstratives : /yɪh/ (this, these) and /voh/ (that, those). For example,

/yɪh kɪtab/
/yɪh kɪtabẽ/
/voh ləṛka/
/voh ləṛke/

The Demonstrative tagmeme is represented as D in the present paper.

IV. 2. Phrase type two is : POSSESSOR ITEM NOUN PHRASE (PI).

It consists of two obligatory tagmemes : Item tagmeme preceded by a Possessor tagmeme and an optional Demonstrative tagmeme.

The Item tagmeme is manifested by all nouns described above. The Possessor tagmeme is manifested by a noun plus /ka/ki/ke/ depending on the gender and number of the Item tagmeme.

Examples of the Possessor tagmeme (P) are :

/Uska gh oṛa/
/Uski gh oṛi/
/Uske gh oṛe/

The concordance of nouns and their forms are quite regular except the following pronouns whieh have irregular forms when they comprise the Possessor tagmeme :

/mæ̃/ + /ka/ = /mera/ ~ /meri/ ~ /mere/
/həm/ + /ka/ = /həmara/ ~ /həmari/ ~ /həmare/
/tUm/ + /ka/ = /tUmhara/ ~ /tUmhari/ ~ /tUmhare/
/tu/ + /ka/ = /tera/ ~ /teri/ ~ /tere/

Examples of the Item tagmeme (It) are :

/gʰ ər/
/g hər tək/
/Sehr mẽ/

The formula for the Possessor Item Noun Phrase is :

$$PIt = P \pm D \pm Qn \pm (\pm I + Ql) + It$$

Examples of the PIt Noun Phrase are :

/aftab ki kɪtab/
/aftab ki kɪtabõ pər/
/mera Sehr/
/meri yɪh kɪtab/
/merɪ yɪh ek kɪtab/
/meri yɪh ek əccʰ i kɪtab/
/meri yɪh ek bohət əccʰ i kɪtab/

This phrase type as may be commonly understood by the title " Possessor Item " does not necessarily indicate the possession of the item by the possessor. For example,

/mera gʰ oṛa/ indicates real possession but /rel ki siṭi/ does not indicate possession. This indicates grammatical possession only.

IV. 3. The third phrase type is : APPOSITIONAL NOUN PHRASE (AP). It consists of two AP Head tagmemes—AP $Head_1$ tagmeme and AP $Head_2$ tagmeme. Both these AP Head tagmemes are manifested by single nouns in apposition with each other. For example,

/aftab sahɪb/
/Urdu zəban/

This phrase type is generally confused with MH type phrase. The distinguishing features are :

(*a*) Both the nouns are in apposition and neither is subordinate to the other—both tagmemes are Head tagmemes as contrasted with the MH type where the Head tagmeme is qualified by different tagmemes.

(*b*) This phrase type cannot have any other tagmeme : Qualifier, Intensifier, Quantifier, Demonstrative, Possessor or Item, in any position.

The formula of Appositional Noun Phrase is :

$$AP = +APH_1 + APH_2$$

i.e. Appositional Noun Phrase equals plus Appositional Head-one tagmeme plus Appositional Head-two tagmeme.

IV. 4. Phrase type four is : COORDINATE NOUN PHRASE (CD). It consists of two or more nouns in conjunction with one another. The formula for this phrase type is :

$$CD = (+H_1 \pm C(\pm H_2 \ldots\ldots + H_{n-1}) + H_n)$$

i.e. CD Noun Phrase equals plus H_1 tagmeme plus minus Conjunctional tagmeme plus minus $Head_2$ tagmeme to $Head_{n-1}$ tagmeme plus $Head_n$ tagmeme.

Examples,

/ɪkram (ɔ͡Ur) Səmim ɔ͡Ur əkrəm/

/ɪkram ɔ͡Ur Səmim ya əkrəm ɔ͡Ur zəfər/

The characteristics of the Coordinate noun phrase are :

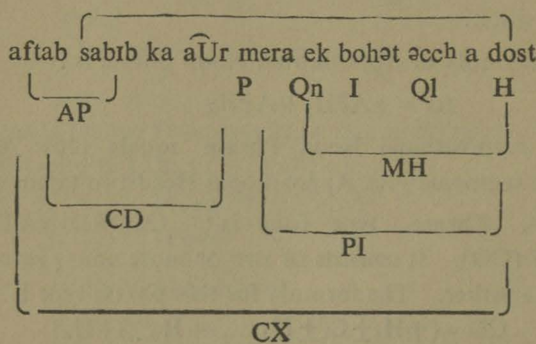
(*a*) At least two Head tagmemes (H_1 and H_2) are obligatory with an intervening obligatory Conjunctional tagmeme.

(*b*) This phrase type can not have any other tagmeme *i.e.* Qualifier, Intensifier, Quantifier, Demonstrative, Possessor or Item.

IV. 5. Phrase type five is : COMPLEX NOUN PHRASE (CX). This phrase type is a combination of at least two types of the phrases described above. All the phrase types described above

have the capacity to occur in fairly complex and long constructions comprising the Complex Noun Phrase in Urdu. The structure of this phrase type reminds one of the famous Chinese box.

CX (Complex Noun Phrase) can be analysed in terms of the MH (Modifier Head Noun Phrase), PI (Possessor Item Noun Phrase), AP (Appositional Noun Phrase), and CD (Coordinate Noun Phrase). For example,



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